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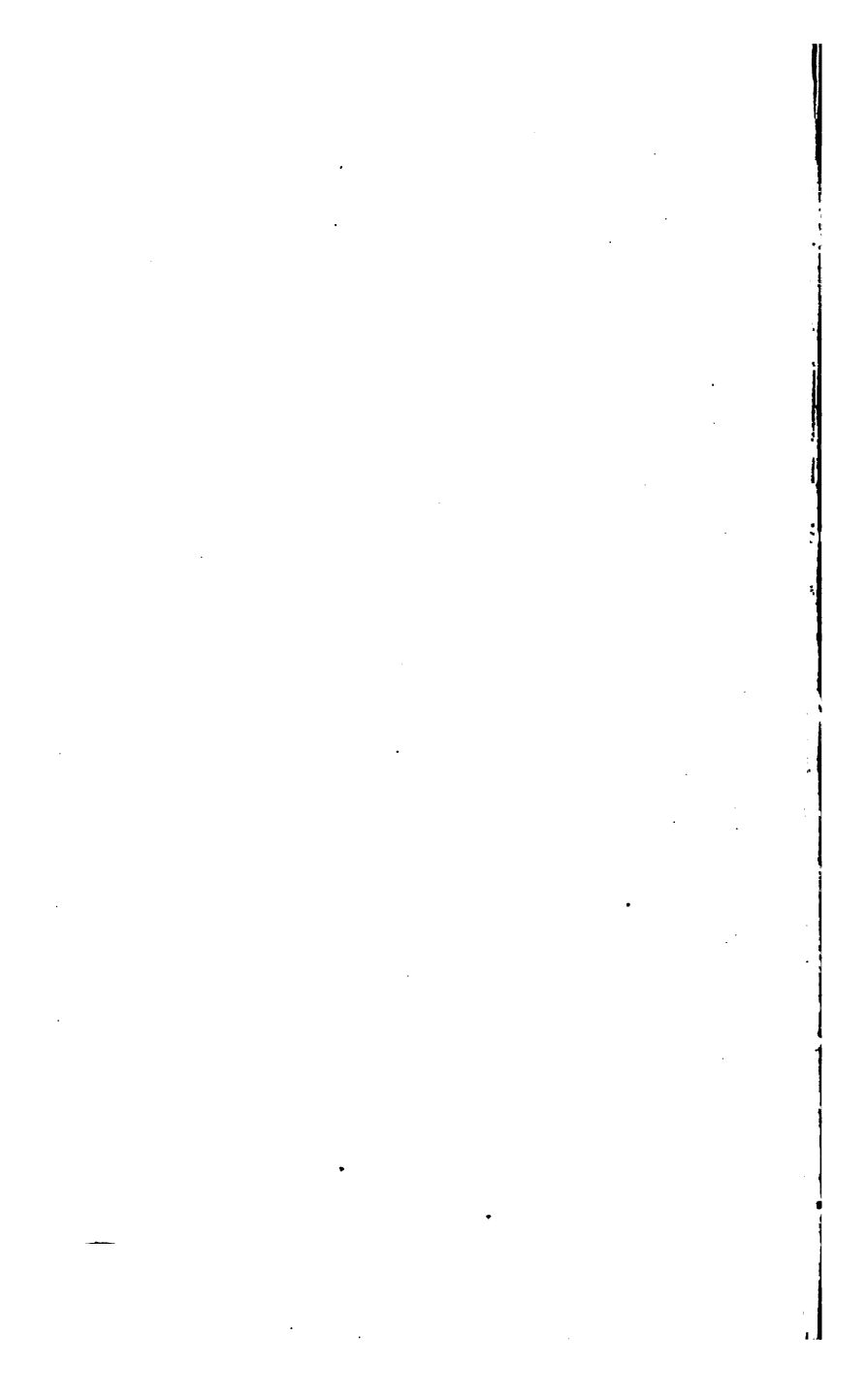
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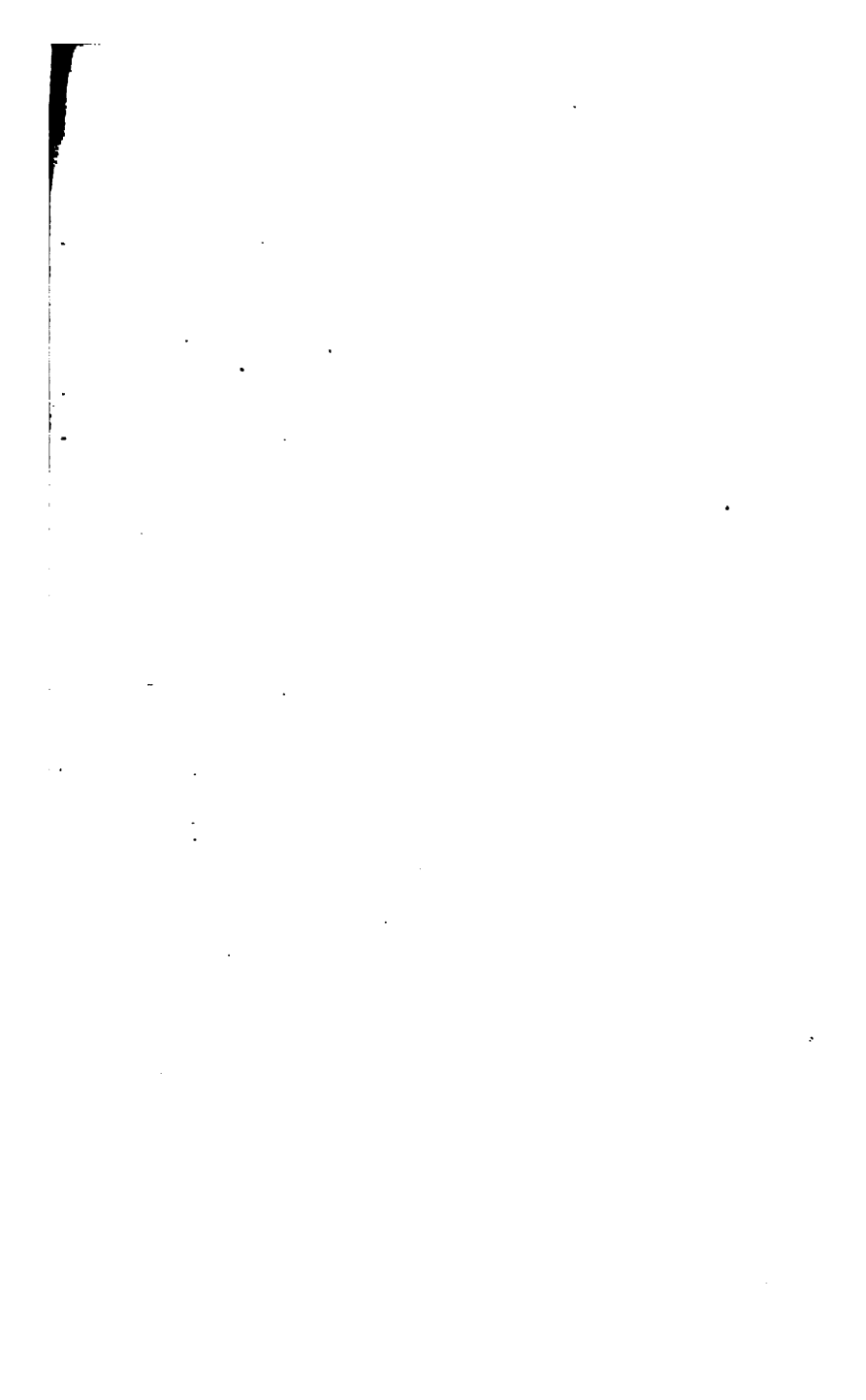
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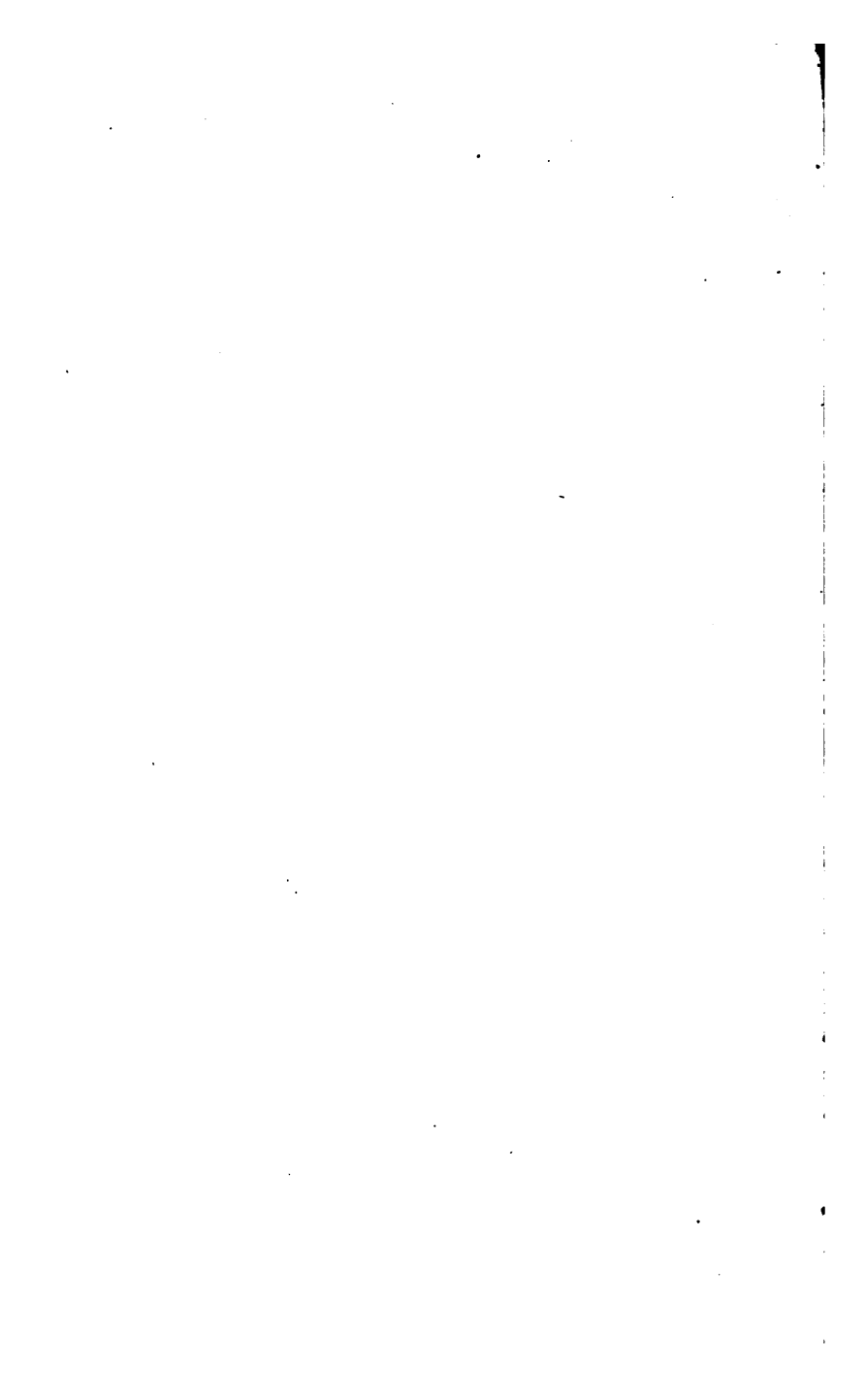
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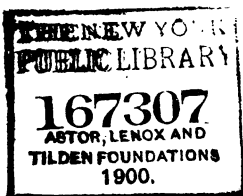
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IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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BOSTON:  
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Jared Sparks

LIVES

OF

EMINENT INDIVIDUALS,

CELEBRATED IN

AMERICAN HISTORY.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

CONTAINING

LIVES OF JOHN STARK, DAVID BRAINERD, ROBERT  
FULTON, AND JOHN SMITH.

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BOSTON :

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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So conspicuous, however, is the stand, which some have occupied, so large a space did they fill in the history of their times, so completely identified were they with the leading transactions or important events of their age, that a few pages would furnish space to give but a dry, meager, and unsatisfactory account of their lives and actions.

Such, for example, is the case as respects Columbus, and Washington. To each of these eminent individuals, an entire volume has therefore been appropriated : the Life and Voyages of the former, by Washington Irving, constitutes the first volume of **THE SCHOOL LIBRARY**,—the Life of the latter, by the Rev. C. W. Upham, being now in the course of preparation for a subsequent volume of the same Series. Franklin may be mentioned, as another individual whose services and discoveries will require at least one volume being devoted to them, to do any thing like justice to the illustrious Philosopher. His

Life, and a selection from his Writings, are in a state of forwardness. He is also briefly mentioned as a signal instance of "the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," in another work which has been prepared for the LIBRARY.

Of by far the greater number of individuals, however, who have identified themselves with the history of this Country, biographical *sketches*, only, will be presented. These will necessarily vary much in length, as the aim will be to exhibit every characteristic trait of the person delineated, and describe every important event, with which he was connected or in which he was concerned ; but at the same time to avoid that extreme minuteness of detail, naturally looked for in a complete *Life*.

In justice to Mr. Sparks, the editor of the 'American Biography,' we would state, that the following volumes, with which we commence the collection of Biographical Sketches, were selected from his series. By an arrangement with his Publishers, Hilliard, Gray, & Co., the Publishers of this LIBRARY secured the right of making such selections, as they might wish, from the whole series ; and in exercising that right, they have chosen those Lives which were deemed best suited to the object had in view. Several of the Lives, although suitable for the publication for which they were furnished, are not well adapted to a School Library ; and have been studiously avoided : the remainder, with but few exceptions, will be found here embodied ; these three volumes embracing nearly the whole matter contained in six volumes of the 'Biography.' Numerous errors, existing in the original, have been corrected ; a full Table of Contents, and a Glossary, will be found in each volume ; several autographs, not in the original, have been given ; and additional and explanatory remarks have been added, where found necessary to render the text more clear and intelligible, or where called for, in consequence of more recent events. To the third volume, is appended a copious Index, which will be found of essential service in making references.

The collection will be continued, at suitable intervals, by the addition of other volumes, consisting of materials selected and prepared *expressly for the LIBRARY*.

*Boston, June, 1839.*

T. H. W.

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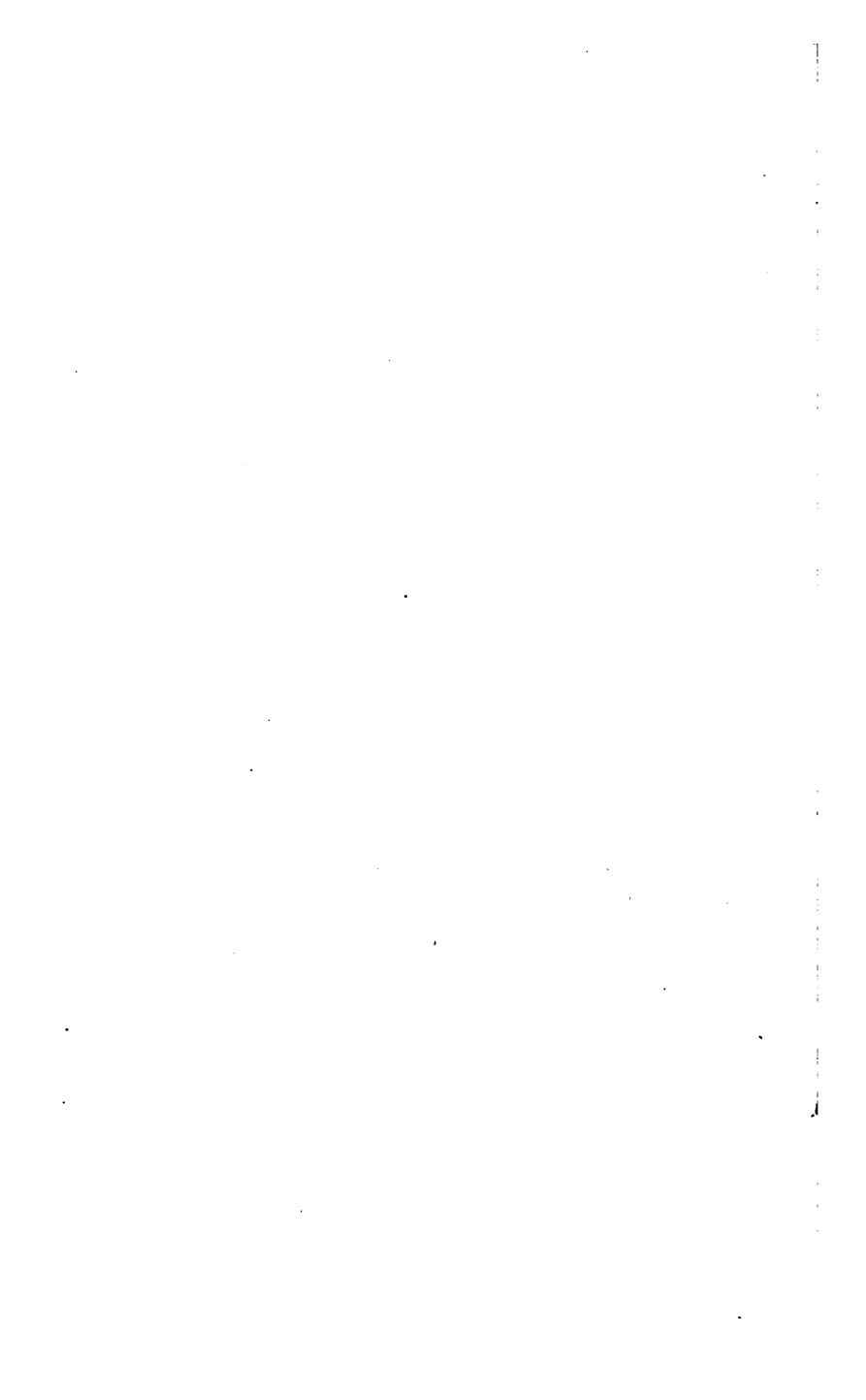
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# CONTENTS.

	Page
PREFACE TO THE THREE VOLUMES, . . . . .	iii
LIST OF THE LIVES CONTAINED IN THE THREE VOLUMES, . . . . .	v

---

LIFE OF JOHN STARK ; BY EDWARD EVERETT, . . . . .	1
------------------------------------------------------	---

---

LIFE OF DAVID BRAINERD ; BY WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY, . . . . .	77
Preface, . . . . .	79

## CHAPTER I.

The Peculiar Character of Brainerd.—His Parentage. —Circumstances in his Childhood.—His Early Religious Impressions.—His Preparation for College. —His Conversion.—The prevailing Religious Excitement.—His Expulsion from College.—His Preparation for the Ministry.—His Appointment as a Missionary to the Indians, . . . . .	81
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER II.

Act of Liberality.—Mr. Sergeant.—Sent to Kanaumek.—His Weakness.—His Manner of Life.—His Success in Preaching.—Visit to New Haven.—Failure to regain his Standing.—His Health unequal to his Labor.—His Charities.—Alarm of Invasion.—He studies the Indian Language.—His Removal from Kanaumek.—Refusal of Invitations, . . . . .	94
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER III.

He goes to the Delaware.—His Ordination.—His
----------------------------------------------

bodily Weakness.—His Influence with the Indians.—Journey to New England.—Visit to the Susquehanna River.—Some Impression made.—Journey to the East.—To Philadelphia.—To the Susquehanna.—Original Letter.—Difficulties in the Way of a Missionary to the Indians, . . . . .	108
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

#### CHAPTER IV.

His Preaching at Crossweeksung.—His Success.—The general Impression produced.—His enforcing the Marriage Law.—The Baptism of the Converts.—His Visit to the Susquehanna.—Festival at Juneauta.—Some peculiar Customs.—Singular Description of a Powow.—An Indian Reformer.—Brainerd's Return.—He relieves the Indians from their Debt.—Change in the Habits of the Community.—Their Removal to Cranberry.—His last Visit to the Susquehanna Indians, . . . . .	122
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

#### CHAPTER V.

His increasing Weakness.—Quotation from Mr. Shepard.—His persevering Labor.—His Removal to Cranberry.—Communion Service.—His Sickness at Elizabethtown.—His Farewell to the Indians.—His Journey to Northampton.—President Edwards's Account of Him.—Miss Edwards.—His Visit at Boston.—Attentions paid Him.—His Return to Northampton.—Circumstances of his Death.—His Example, . . . . .	138
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

---

LIFE OF ROBERT FULTON; By JAMES RENWICK, LL. D., . . . . .	153
---------------------------------------------------------------	-----

#### CHAPTER I.

Introduction, . . . . .	155
-------------------------	-----

#### CHAPTER II.

Birth of Fulton.—He chooses the Profession of a Painter.—His early Taste for Mechanics.—He settles in Philadelphia.—Embarks for England.—Re-	
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

sides in the Family of West.—Removes to Devonshire.—The Courtenays, . . . . .	160
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER III.

His Acquaintance with the Duke of Bridgewater and Earl Stanhope.—His Removal from Devonshire, and Residence in Birmingham.—He abandons Painting for the Profession of an Engineer.—His first Idea of a Steamboat communicated to Stanhope.—He makes the Acquaintance of Watt, . . . . .	164
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER IV.

His Plan of an Inclined Plane.—Work on Inland Navigation.—His Torpedo.—His Removal to France, and Residence there, . . . . .	167
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER V.

His Inventions while residing in Birmingham.—His Letters to Washington, and the Governor of Pennsylvania.—His Submarine Vessel.—Experiment with it at the Mouth of the Seine.—He aids in introducing the Panorama into France, . . . . .	171
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER VI.

Steam Navigation.—Watt.—Evans.—Fitch.—Rumsey.—Miller, of Dalswinton.—Symington, . . . . .	175
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER VII.

Further Attempts at Steam Navigation in the United States.—Stevens.—Livingston.—Roosevelt.—Livingston goes as Minister to France.—Becomes acquainted with Fulton.—Their Contract.—Experiments at Plombières.—Experimental Boat on the Seine.—Engine ordered from Watt.—Its Peculiarities, . . . . .	181
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER VIII.

Exclusive Privileges granted to Livingston by the State of New York.—Fulton revisits England.—Returns to the United States.—First Steamboat built and tried.—First Voyage to Albany.—Transactions of the Summer of 1807, . . . . .	186
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

**CHAPTER IX.**

Steamboat rebuilt.—Occupations of the Summer of 1808.—Causes of Opposition to Fulton's Rights.—Rival Boats upon the Hudson, . . . . .	190
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

**CHAPTER X.**

Fulton's Marriage.—His Success speedily clouded by Opposition.—Nature and Sources of the Opposition.—Claims derived from Fitch.—Fulton's two Patents.—Simplicity of his Methods, . . . . .	195
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

**CHAPTER XI.**

Conflicting Claims of the States of New York and New Jersey.—Attempt to obtain a Repeal of the Grant from the State of New York.—Fulton's Steam Ferryboats.—Boat for the Navigation of the Sound.—Boats planned by Fulton, and left unfinished at the Time of his Death, . . . . .	199
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

**CHAPTER XII.**

Fulton's Torpedoes.—His Submarine Guns.—Steam Frigate.—Submarine Vessel.—He is called before the Legislature of New Jersey as a Witness.—Is detained on the Hudson by the Ice.—His Illness.—Death and Character, . . . . .	205
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

---

<b>LIFE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH ;</b> By GEORGE S. HILLARD, . . . . .	211
Preface, . . . . .	213

**CHAPTER I.**

His Birth, Early Adventures, and Brilliant Achievements in the Turkish Wars, . . . . .	217
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

**CHAPTER II.**

His Captivity, Escape, and Return to England, . .	228
---------------------------------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER III.

State of Public Feeling in England in Regard to Colonizing the Coast of America.—Smith becomes interested in the Subject.—Establishment of the Virginia and Plymouth Companies.—An Expedition sets Sail from England.—Dissensions on the Voyage.—Arrival in Virginia, . . . . . 234

### CHAPTER IV.

Early Struggles of the Colony.—Active Exertions of Captain Smith in providing Food and suppressing Insubordination, . . . . . 242

### CHAPTER V.

Captain Smith's Captivity among the Indians.—His Life is saved by Pocahontas.—His Return to Jamestown, . . . . . 250

### CHAPTER VI.

Arrival of Newport from England.—His Visit to Powhatan.—His Return, . . . . . 259

### CHAPTER VII.

Captain Smith explores the Chesapeake in two Expeditions.—He is chosen President of the Colony, 267

### CHAPTER VIII.

Second Arrival of Newport.—Abortive Expedition to explore the Interior.—Injudicious Conduct of the Council in England.—Their Letter to Captain Smith.—His Reply, . . . . . 280

### CHAPTER IX.

Difficulties in procuring Provisions.—Captain Smith's unsuccessful Attempt to obtain Possession of Powhatan's Person, . . . . . 290

### CHAPTER X.

Captain Smith's Adventures with Opechancanough, Chief of Pamunkey.—His return to Jamestown, . 300

## CHAPTER XI.

- Troubles with the Indians.—Scarcity of Provisions.  
 —Mutinous and treacherous Disposition of some of  
 the Colonists.—Arrival of Captain Argall, . . . 305

## CHAPTER XII.

- New Charter granted to the Virginia Company.—  
 Expedition despatched to Jamestown.—Confusion  
 which ensues on its Arrival.—Captain Smith re-  
 turns to England, . . . . . 315

## CHAPTER XIII.

- Remarks on Captain Smith's Administration in Vir-  
 ginia, . . . . . 323

## CHAPTER XIV.

- Captain Smith's first Voyage to New England, . . . 328

## CHAPTER XV.

- Captain Smith sails a second Time for New England.  
 —Is taken by a French Squadron, and carried to  
 France.—Makes his Escape.—Arrives in England.  
 —Publishes his Description of New England, . . . 331

## CHAPTER XVI.

- Visit of Pocahontas to England.—Captain Smith's  
 Letter to the Queen.—His Interview with Poca-  
 hontas.—Death of Pocahontas, . . . . . 337

## CHAPTER XVII.

- Captain Smith's Examination by the Commissioners  
 for the Reformation of Virginia.—His Death.—His  
 Character, . . . . . 348

## NOTE.

- Account of Captain's Smith's Writings, . . . . 357

- 
- GLOSSARY, . . . . . 363



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LIFE  
OF  
JOHN STARK;  
BY  
EDWARD EVERETT.



## JOHN STARK.

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THE great political consequences of the war of the Revolution have thrown into comparative obscurity the previous military history of the British North American Colonies. In reality, however, the military efforts made by those Colonies, not only in the Seven Years' War, but in that of 1744, were of great importance. Large forces were kept on foot; distant and important expeditions were undertaken with success; valuable conquests were achieved; and, on more than one occasion, a very decisive influence on the politics of Europe was exercised by the colonial governments. Great importance would have been attached to these transactions, but for the greater importance and interest of those which followed so close upon them, in the war of the Revolution. But it is not the least of the reasons why we ought to study the history of these earlier wars, that they formed in reality the great school in which the military leaders of the Revolution were trained.

Among the eminent pupils of this school, John Stark was by no means the least distinguished. His character is one of original strength and resource. He would have risen to consequence and authority, however rude and uncivilized the community in which he had been thrown; and had he been trained in the discipline, and enjoyed the opportunities, of the great armies of Europe, his name would have reached posterity, as a military chieftain of the first rank. In the peculiar social and political condition of the country, allowing an almost indefinite scope for the peculiarities of individual character, the temperament of General Stark prevented his rising decidedly above the sphere of the partisan leader; but he was unques-

tionably a partisan of the highest character, and rendered services of an importance not easily surpassed, those of Washington out of the question, by any achievements of any other leader in the army of the Revolution. An account of the life of General Stark has been published, as it would appear, by his family, from authentic materials.\* This will be our authority for every thing which belongs to personal history in the following Memoir, and for many matters relative to the military and public career of its subject;—an acknowledgement which we wish to make in the amplest terms, in the outset, to avoid the necessity of repetition and marginal reference.

JOHN STARK was born at Nutfield, now Londonderry, in New Hampshire, on the 28th of August, in the year 1728. His life began in hardship. His father, Archibald Stark, was a native of Glasgow in Scotland, and emigrated while young to Londonderry in Ireland. In the year 1720, he embarked with a numerous company of adventurers for New Hampshire. These emigrants were descended from the Scotch Presbyterians, who, in the reign of James the First, were established in Ireland, but who, professing with national tenacity a religious belief, neither in accordance with the popular faith of Ireland, nor with that of its English masters, and disliking the institutions of tithes and rent, determined to seek a settlement in America. The first party came over in 1718, and led the way in a settlement on the Merrimac river. They were shortly succeeded by a large number of their countrymen, who brought with them the art of weaving linen, and first introduced the culture of the potato in this part of America; and furnished from their families a large number of the pioneers of civilization in New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, and some of the most useful and distinguished citizens of all these States.

\* “Reminiscences of the French War, containing Rogers’s Expeditions with the New England Rangers under his Command, as published in London in 1765; with Notes and Illustrations; to which is added an Account of the Life and Military Services of Major General John Stark, &c. Concord, N. H., 1831.”



The vessel which brought over Archibald Stark and his party, arrived in Boston, about the time of the alarm of the prevalence of the smallpox. The account we follow, places it in 1720, and states that the vessel, in consequence of having the smallpox on board, was not allowed an entry in Boston. As 1721 was the year when the smallpox committed the most formidable ravages in Boston, having been brought in a vessel from the West Indies, it is not unlikely, that the party of Stark arrived in Boston Bay while the panic produced by the ravages of the disease was at its height. At all events, they were refused permission to land in Boston; and they passed the winter on the banks of the Kennebec in Maine, and near the spot where Wiscasset was afterwards settled. The following year they removed to Nutfield, where they had been preceded by the first emigrating company of their countrymen. Here a permanent and flourishing settlement was founded, which took the name of Londonderry, in 1722, in memory of the place of their abode in Ireland.

This place was in advance of the compact settlements, and consequently was exposed to the brunt of Indian warfare, which precisely at this period was commencing for the fourth time since the first establishment of the English Colonies. A tradition is preserved, that the settlers at Londonderry were occasionally preserved from savage violence by the interposition of Father Rasles, a French missionary, established among the Norridgewock tribe of Indians. The particular motive, which prompted the tenderness of this French Catholic toward a settlement of Scotch Covenanters, has not been handed down with the tradition.

John Stark was the second of four sons. In 1736, his father removed from Londonderry to Derryfield, now Manchester. Here John remained in the family of his father till the year 1752. In this year, he went upon a hunting excursion to Baker's River, in Rumney, in the northwestern quarter of the State, and a spot at that time far beyond the range of the English settlements. The party consisted, besides himself, of his elder brother

William, and of David Stinson and Amos Eastman. On the 28th of April, they were surprised by a party of ten Indians of the tribe established at St. Francis. Stark's party had discovered the trail of the Indians two days before; and were preparing, in consequence, to leave the ground. John had separated from his companions, to collect the traps; and while thus employed, was surprised by the Indians. On being questioned about his companions, he pointed in the direction opposite to that which they had taken, and thus succeeded in leading the Indians two miles out of the way. His companions unfortunately, becoming alarmed at his absence, and ignorant of its cause, fired several guns as a signal to him. This betrayed them to the savages; who, proceeding down the river below the encampment, lay in wait to intercept their boat, as it should descend. The hunters, suspecting what had happened, were moving down the river, William Stark and Stinson in the canoe, and Eastman on the bank. At sunrise in the morning, Eastman fell into the hands of the savages, who, at the same time, ordered John to hail his brethren in the boat, and thus decoy them to the shore. Instead of obeying this command, John had the courage, after explaining his own situation to his brother and Stinson, to advise them to pull for the opposite shore. They did so, and were immediately fired upon by four of the Indians. At the moment of the discharge, Stark knocked up the guns of two of the Indians; and did the same when the rest of the party fired a second volley, calling to his brother William to make his escape, as the guns were all discharged. This his brother succeeded in doing; but Stinson was killed. For his boldness on this occasion, Stark was severely beaten by the Indians, who, taking possession of the furs collected by the hunting party, retreated to Coos, near where Haverhill, New Hampshire, now is, and where two of their party had been left to collect provisions against their return. Having passed one night here, they proceeded to the upper Coos (Lancaster,) from which they despatched three of their number with Eastman to St. Francis. The remainder of the party spent some time in hunting upon a small

stream in this neighborhood. Stark, confined at night and closely watched by day, was permitted by his new companions to try his fortune at hunting, and, having trapped one beaver and shot another, received the skins as his reward.

On the 9th of June, the party returned to St. Francis, where Stark rejoined his companion, Eastman. They were compelled to undergo what is called the *ceremony* of running the gauntlet; a use of that term, which modern effeminacy would hardly admit. It was the universal practice of the North American Indians, to compel their captives to pass through the young warriors of the tribe, ranged in two lines, each furnished with a rod, and, when highly exasperated, with deadly weapons, to strike the prisoners as they passed. In the latter case, the captive was frequently killed, before he could reach the council-house, at which the two lines of Indians terminated. On the present occasion, Eastman was severely whipped, as he passed through the lines. Stark, more athletic and adroit, and better comprehending the Indian character, snatched a club from the nearest Indian, laid about him to the right and left, scattering the Indians before him, and escaped with scarcely a blow; greatly to the delight of the old men of the tribe, who sat at some distance, witnessing the scene, and enjoying the confusion of their young warriors.

Stark and his companion remained some time among the St. Francis Indians, by whom he was kindly treated. He possessed opportunities, which he did not allow to pass unimproved, of studying their manners and customs, particularly in their military excursions. At the end of six weeks, Captain Stevens of Number Four, (Charlestown, New Hampshire,) and Mr. Wheelwright of Boston, were sent by the General Court of Massachusetts to redeem some of the citizens of that province, who had been carried into captivity. Not finding those of whom they were in search from Massachusetts, they liberally paid the ransom of Stark and Eastman, the former being redeemed for one hundred and three dollars, the latter for sixty. Massachusetts was in the habit of redeeming,

from the treasury of the province, her citizens who were carried away captive; but Stark and Eastman were never repaid by New Hampshire, the sums advanced to them by the Massachusetts Commissioners. They returned by the way of Albany to Derryfield in New Hampshire, after an absence of about four months.

The unhappy want of political concert between the Colonies, at this period, is curiously illustrated by the fact, that the party of Indians, who had plundered and captured Stark and his companions, travelled with them to Albany, and there, without molestation, made sale of the very furs, which they had taken from these citizens of a sister province, in time of peace;—for this adventure preceded by four years the breaking out of the war of 1756.

Stark was accustomed, throughout his life, to attach no small importance to this incident in his youthful history. During the three or four months, which he passed among the Indians, he carefully observed their manners and character; and acquired a practical knowledge on these points, of great value to a frontier partisan. He appears to have caught the humor of the Indians, and to have known how to approach them on the side of their prejudices. He was ordered by them to hoe their corn. Well aware that they regarded labor of this kind as fit only for squaws and slaves, he took care to cut up the corn and spare the weeds, in order to give them a suitable idea of his want of skill in unmanly labor. As this experiment upon their good nature did not answer its desired object, he threw his hoe into the river, declaring "it was the business, not of warriors, but of squaws, to hoe corn." This spirited deportment gained him the title of young chief, and the honor of adoption into the tribe. He never ceased to recur with pleasure to the incidents of his captivity among the St. Francis Indians, and to maintain, that he received more genuine kindness from them, than he ever knew prisoners of war to receive from any civilized nation. The practice of ransoming the captives had already taken much from the horrors of Indian warfare. Before this practice had

rendered the lives of prisoners valuable to the savages, the cruelties inflicted by them on those who fell into their hands, are known to have been of the most revolting character.

The ill success of this expedition furnished new reasons for undertaking another, the next year, to the head waters of the Androscoggin, in order to raise from the proceeds of his hunting a sum of money to enable him to discharge his debt to the Massachusetts Commissioners. The report, which he brought back from this and his former excursion to the upper Coos country, determined the General Court of New Hampshire to explore it. A company was enlisted for this purpose, under Colonel Lovell, and John Stark was engaged as the guide. They commenced their march from Concord on the 10th of March, reached Piermont on the 17th, and, after passing one day in making observations upon the country, returned to Concord on the 23d. This country, however, was claimed by the Indians, and had never been brought within the acknowledged limits of the English governments. Foreseeing the mischiefs which would result to the Colonies by a forcible occupation of it, on the part of the people of New Hampshire, the Governor of Massachusetts used his influence with the Governor of New Hampshire, to obtain a postponement of the measure. In the year 1754, a report reached the English settlements, that the French were building a fort in this coveted region. A party of thirty men was despatched by the Governor of New Hampshire, with a flag of truce, to remonstrate against this proceeding. John Stark was selected as the guide of the expedition, and conducted the party to the upper Coos, by way of the Little Ox-Bow, being the same route which he had travelled before, as a captive of the Indians. They found no traces of the French in the country, and were the first party from the Colonies, which explored the fertile meadows on the banks of the Connecticut, where the flourishing towns of Haverhill and Newbury are now situated.

In the year 1754, the great Seven Years' War in

reality commenced. It grew out of the struggle between the British and the French for the possession of North America. The British having preceded the French in occupying the better portions of the coast, the French turned their attention to the interior; and made it their object, by means of the St. Lawrence, the Lakes, the Ohio, and Mississippi, and a chain of posts judiciously established along this line of water communication, to prevent the progress of the English westward. The Ohio Company was formed in 1749, and was the first link in the chain of causes, which brought on the rupture. In the year 1754, the memorable project of a union of the Colonies, with a view to their defence against the French and Indians, was matured at Albany, and signed on the 4th of July; and on the same day Colonel Washington was obliged to capitulate to the French and Indians at Fort Necessity. A very extensive plan of campaign was projected for the year 1755, consisting of three parts. The first was an expedition against Fort Duquesne, to be conducted by General Braddock with troops from England; the second was an attempt upon Fort Niagara, to be made by the regular forces raised in the Colonies, and Indians; and the third was an expedition against Crown Point, to be carried on exclusively by New England troops, raised for that purpose.

A corps of rangers was enlisted in New Hampshire for service in the last expedition, by Robert Rogers, who acquired great reputation as a partisan officer in the progress of the war. Stark's experience on scouting parties obviously fitted him for this service; and his character was already so well established, that he received a commission as a lieutenant in the regiment which was commanded by Colonel Blanchard. This regiment was first ordered into the Coos country, and directed to burn the meadows, preparatory to building a fort. But at Governor Shirley's instance, before reaching their place of destination, the order was countermanded, and they were directed to repair to the army assembled against Crown Point, by the way of Number Four and Albany.

At the time the troops arrived at headquarters, General Johnson was encamped on Lake George. The New Hampshire regiment was stationed by him at Fort Edward, a position which had been taken up by General Lyman, at the landing-place on the east side of the Hudson. It was the design of General Johnson, about the beginning of September, to move against Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, a post about fifteen miles south of Crown Point, which, he had understood, had been fortified by the French. The movement of the Anglo-American army was, however, anticipated by the advance of the Baron Dieskau, the French general.

This officer had lately arrived at Montreal with a body of French troops. His instructions directed him to reduce the English post at Oswego; but the news of the movement against Crown Point having reached Montreal about the time of the Baron Dieskau's arrival, and having produced alarm there, the Baron was importuned to pass up Lake Champlain with his forces, to resist the advancing Anglo-American army. This was accordingly done; the Baron transported his troops to Fort Frederic (Crown Point,) and having waited there for some time the approach of the English army, resolved to march against them. He accordingly embarked two thousand men, in boats, from Crown Point, and landing at South Bay, marched on towards Fort Edward, where the New Hampshire rangers were stationed. When within two miles of the fort, he communicated his design of assaulting it to his troops. The Canadians and Indians in his army, dreading the effects of the cannon of the fort, were unwilling to make the attempt, but expressed their readiness to march against the main body encamped at the lake, and, as it was understood, without lines or artillery. On this representation, the Baron changed his course and marched against the camp.

Intelligence meantime had reached the camp, that the French had landed at South Bay, and were marching upon Fort Edward. Two messengers were despatched by General Johnson to the fort with this intelligence. One of these messengers was intercepted and killed;

and the other returned to the camp with information, that he had discovered the French about four miles to the northward of the fort. It was resolved, in council of war, to send a strong detachment to the relief of the fort. A thousand men were detached from the army, with two hundred Indians, for this service, and placed under the command of Colonel Ephraim Williams, a brave Massachusetts officer. Baron Dieskau had posted his troops advantageously in a defile. Deceived by the small number of men apparently opposed to him, the ardor of Colonel Williams and his troops betrayed him into an ambuscade. Baron Dieskau had reserved his regular troops in the centre for the main attack, and ordered the Canadians and French to enclose the Anglo-Americans on the flanks. The Baron, with a view to a complete surprise, had ordered the Canadians and Indians to reserve their fire, till they should hear the attack of the main body in the centre. Hendricks, the Mohawk chief, attached to Colonel Williams's party, perceived the approaches of the Canadian Indians, and brought on the engagement. It was severe, and bravely contested; but the French force being nearly double of the Anglo-American, the latter was obliged to retreat, with the loss of Colonel Williams, the gallant officer in command, and of Hendricks, the Mohawk chief. M. de St. Pierre, the French officer in command of the Canadian Indians, was also killed. The loss was considerable on both sides.

We trust we shall be pardoned for pausing a moment in the narration, to pay a deserved tribute to the memory of Colonel Ephraim Williams.

He was a native of Newton, near Boston; but his father, Colonel Ephraim Williams, the elder, was one of the earliest settlers of Stockbridge. Colonel Williams, the son, being of an adventurous disposition, for several years in early life followed the seas. In his different voyages to Europe, he visited England, Spain, and Holland, and acquired the information and accomplishments of an observant traveller. Having, at the request of his father, determined to establish himself at home, and possessing a decided military taste, he en-



tered the army enlisted for the war (that of 1744) then raging between England and France, and commanded a company raised in New England on what was called the Canada service. He was afterwards placed in command of the line of Massachusetts forts, on the west side of Connecticut river. While he held this command, his principal station was Fort Hoosac, on the bank of the Hoosac river, in the present town of Adams, about three miles and a half east of Williamstown. There was also a small fort at Williamstown, under his command. The first settlements, in this part of the country, grew up under the protection of these forts. Colonel Williams was the witness of the efforts, the hardships, and the perils of the early settlers; and forming a just anticipation of the future importance of this part of the country, he conceived the design of making provision for the means of education in this quarter of the Commonwealth.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, Colonel Williams resided chiefly at Hatfield, in the county of Hampshire. On the breaking out of the war, in 1755, his high military character obtained him the command of a regiment, which was attached to the army under General Johnson, destined against Crown Point. While at Albany, on his way to headquarters, a presentiment of his approaching fate seems to have taken possession of him, and on the 22d of July, 1755, he made his will. He fell by a musket-shot through his head, on the memorable 8th of September, in the engagement already spoken of. He was at this time scarcely passed forty years of age. His person was large and commanding. He had a strong taste for books, and habitually lamented the want of an academical education. His address and manners were remarkably engaging. In the General Court of Massachusetts, he possessed a greater personal influence than any other individual, and in the army he was beloved by the soldiers. Having no family, he appropriated, with wise liberality, the greater part of his property to the foundation of "a Free School in a township west of Fort Massachusetts." The property

bequeathed was not very large; but, by judicious management, by legislative aid, and private subscriptions, it proved adequate to the establishment of the Free School, subsequently the College, situated in Williams-town; which has long enjoyed a high character among the institutions for education in the country, and will transmit the name of its gallant, patriotic, and unfortunate founder in grateful and enduring remembrance.

The fortune of the day, disastrous at first to the Anglo-American army, by the loss of Colonel Williams and the repulse of his detachment, was soon reversed. The retreating troops were met by a party sent out to their aid, and, falling back with them on the main body, awaited the approach of the enemy on the borders of the lake. Johnson was advantageously posted. A deep, woody swamp covered his flanks, and in front, behind a breastwork of trees, he had mounted several cannon, opportunely received from Fort Edward two days before. This fact had escaped the observation of the French spies. The army of Baron Dieskau came to a halt; the retreating Provincials recovered their spirits, and opposed a manful resistance to the approaching enemy. The Canadians and Indians were dismayed at the appearance of artillery within the breastwork, and, at the first discharge of the cannon, fled to the swamps. They were soon followed by the main body in a disorderly retreat. The American army instantly pursued, and completed the rout of the enemy. The Baron himself, wounded in the leg, was found leaning on the stump of a tree entirely alone, on the field where, but a few hours before, he had commanded an army flushed with success. While feeling in his pocket for his watch, to surrender it to the soldier who had surprised him, the latter, supposing him to be in search of a pistol, discharged his musket at him, and gave him a wound which eventually proved mortal. He lived however to reach England. This soldier is believed to have been General Seth Pomeroy of Northampton.

Baron Dieskau was conducted a prisoner to the English camp; and, the pursuit not being continued, the

remains of his army rallied upon the precise spot where the party of Colonel Williams had been defeated in the morning. At this juncture a detachment of the New Hampshire troops, at Fort Edward, about two hundred strong, on their march to the relief of the main body, fell in with the remnants of the French army and put them completely to rout. Captain McGinnis, the brave commander of the party, unfortunately lost his life in the moment of victory.

Thus were fought on the same day, and upon the same field, three several battles, with the loss of three commanders, and an Indian chief. General Johnson himself was wounded. The hill overlooking the defile where Colonel Williams met his fate, is still called French Mountain; and the spot on which he fell is known as Williams's Rock. Close by the road, and on its north side, is a circular pond, two or three hundred feet in diameter, shaped like a bowl, into which the dead bodies of both parties were thrown in undistinguished confusion. From that day to the present, it has borne the name of the *Bloody Pond*.

Such was the introduction of Stark to the perils of regular warfare; and with the momentous events of this day the campaign began and closed. The advantages gained by General Johnson, who was created a baronet for his success, were not followed up by the pursuit of the original objects of the expedition; and with the exception of six hundred men who were retained to garrison Fort Edward and Fort William Henry, which was built on the shore of Lake George and near the site of Johnson's encampment, the army was discharged. Colonel Blanchard's regiment was among those disbanded, and, with the other officers composing it, Lieutenant Stark returned home.

It was, however, but for a brief enjoyment of the repose of private life. Although the leading operations of the war were suspended by the season, it was judged expedient, that a full company of rangers should be attached to the garrisons left at the forts between Lake George and the Hudson. Major Rogers was employed by Gov-

ernor Shirley to recruit such a company, which he did principally in New Hampshire; and such was his confidence in Stark, that he bestowed on him again the commission of second lieutenant. By the express directions of Governor Shirley, none were to be enlisted in this corps, but men accustomed to travelling and hunting in the woods, and men in whose courage and fidelity entire confidence could be placed. The Journal of his service with these rangers was published by Major Rogers in 1765, at London, and presents an exceedingly interesting view of their severe and perilous warfare. Their duty was to reconnoitre the hostile posts and armies, to surprise straggling parties and obtain prisoners, to effect diversions by false attacks, to serve as guides and couriers. They acted in a corps independent of the line of the army, under their own officers, and with their own regulations, as prescribed by their gallant leader, and still preserved in his Journal alluded to. It was made their duty, by their instructions, "from time to time, to use their best endeavors to distress the French and their allies, by sacking, burning, and destroying their houses, barns, barracks, canoes, and batteaux, and by killing their cattle of every kind; and at all times to endeavor to waylay, attack, and destroy, their convoys of provision by land and water, in any part of the country where they could be found."

Major Rogers divided his corps. A part of it marched under Lieutenant Richard Rogers to Albany, and the other half, under his own immediate command, directed their line of march by the way of Number Four. Shaping their course from this place toward Crown Point, they pursued their way "through vast forests and over lofty mountains." On the second day of the march, Lieutenant Stark fell sick, and was obliged, with a guard of six men, to repair to Fort Edward. On their way to the fort, they fell in with and eluded a scouting party of four hundred hostile Indians.

The Journal of Major Rogers above-mentioned, details the operations and adventures of his corps, during the season, and cannot be perused without lively interest;

but our limits compel us to pass briefly over them. So important were the services of the corps of rangers, that it was judged expedient by General Abercromby, who superseded Governor Shirley in the command, to double its numbers. A new company was accordingly raised, and placed under the command of Richard Rogers, brother of the Major. The place of first lieutenant in the old company, being thus vacated, was filled by the promotion of Second Lieutenant Stark. In the month of August, a company of Stockbridge Indians, led by officers of their own tribe, commissioned by Governor Shirley, was taken into the service, and acted occasionally in connexion with the rangers, whose skill as woodsmen was in no degree inferior to that which was possessed by these natives of the forest. Early in August, the Earl of Loudoun took the command. By his direction, the rangers departed on a scouting expedition, in two parties, one headed by Rogers and the other by Stark, in which they ascended Lake Champlain a considerable distance, reconnoitring the enemy's positions, and lying in wait for straggling parties. They did not return to the fort till the end of September. From this time to the close of the season, the rangers were on continual service, exploring the woods, procuring information, and bringing in prisoners. On the 19th of November, they made an excursion for six days, down the lake. Captain Abercromby, aid-de-camp and nephew of the General, had the curiosity, notwithstanding the severity of the season in this high latitude, to accompany the party. Nothing was effected in a military way, beyond obtaining a sight of the French garrison at Crown Point; but the young officer was delighted with the novelties of the scout, and with the romantic and noble scenery through which the rangers conducted him. At the close of the season, the troops were principally drawn off to Albany; but the rangers remained on duty at Forts William Henry and Edward. They were joined, at the end of the year, by two additional companies of rangers from Halifax, under Captains Hobbs and Spikeman.

Early in January, 1757, a party of the rangers was de-

tached on an expedition down the lake, which ended in an engagement of great severity, in which we behold clear indications of the future hero of Bennington. On the 15th of January, a party consisting of Major Robert Rogers, his Lieutenant, John Stark, Ensign Page of Richard Rogers's company, and fifty privates, marched from their station at Fort Edward to Fort William Henry, where they were employed two days in preparing snow-shoes and provisions for their excursion. They were joined on the 17th by Captain Spikeman, and sixteen officers and men from his company; by Ensign Rogers, with two men of Captain Hobbs's company, and a volunteer of the 44th Regiment. The party proceeded down Lake George on the ice, and at night encamped on the east side of the First Narrows. Some of the men, lamed by the exertions of the first day, were obliged to turn back; and the party was thus reduced to seventy-four men, officers included. The march was continued for the three succeeding days, on the lake, and on the land by means of snow-shoes. On the twentieth they encamped at night, within three miles of Lake Champlain. On the twenty-first day, they marched in an easterly direction, till they reached the lake, half way between Crown Point and Ticonderoga, when they discovered a sled, passing on the ice from the former to the latter. Lieutenant Stark, with twenty men, was ordered to intercept the sled in front. Major Rogers, with another party, threw himself in the rear, to cut off its retreat, leaving Captain Spikeman with the centre. Rogers from his position soon discovered ten other sleds passing down the lake, of which he endeavored to apprise Stark, before he should show himself on the ice, but without success. The moment Stark was seen, the sleds hastily turned back toward Ticonderoga. Rogers's party pursued them, took seven prisoners, three sleds, and six horses; the rest escaped. From their prisoners they learned, that there was a large body of French troops, Canadians, and Indians at Ticonderoga, who were amply supplied with provisions, and equipped for service at a moment's warning.

Not doubting, from this information, that the news of their presence in the neighborhood would be carried by those who had escaped, and would cause them to be immediately pursued, Major Rogers gave orders to his party to retreat with all expedition to the station they had occupied the night before, where their fires were still burning, and to prepare for battle by drying their guns, as it was a rainy day. They commenced this march in the rangers' manner, single file, the Major in front and Lieutenant Stark in the rear.

In this manner they passed a mile over broken ground and crossed a valley fifteen rods in breadth, when the front, having gained the summit of the opposite hill on the west side, fell in with the enemy drawn up in the form of a crescent, with a view to surround the party of rangers. At the moment of making the discovery, Major Rogers's party received the discharge of the enemy, at least two hundred strong, and at a distance of not more than five yards from the nearest and thirty yards from the rear of the party. The first fire proved fatal to Lieutenant Kennedy and a private, and wounded several, among others Major Rogers himself in the head. Major Rogers ordered his party to retreat to the opposite hill, where Lieutenant Stark and Ensign Brewer, who commanded the rear, had already posted themselves, to cover the retreat. Rogers was closely pursued; Captain Spikeman and some others were killed, and several were made prisoners. But the steady fire kept up by Lieutenant Stark and his men from the hill, by which a number of the enemy were killed, enabled Rogers and the survivors of his party to place themselves to advantage. A hasty disposition was then made, by the reduced band of rangers. Stark with Ensign Rogers took a position in the centre; Sergeants Walker and Phillips (the latter a half-breed) acting on the reserve, to protect the flanks, and watch the enemy's motions. They were scarcely formed, before the French attempted to flank them; but a prompt and vigorous fire from the reserve drove back the flanking party with loss. A formidable assault was then made in front; but the rangers, having the advantage

of the ground, and being sheltered by large trees, from which they kept up a continual fire, repelled the attack. Another attempt was made to surround the rangers, but without success.

In this manner the action, which began at two o'clock in the afternoon, was kept up till sunset, when Major Rogers received a wound through his wrist, which prevented him from holding his gun. It is related on the authority of Eastman of Concord, New Hampshire, who was a private in Stark's command in the action, that when Major Rogers received his second wound, he was inclined to order a retreat. Lieutenant Stark, then almost the only officer not wounded, declared that he would shoot the first man who fled, that they had a good position, and he would fight till dark and then retreat; and that in this course lay their only chance for safety. At this moment, the lock of his gun was broken by a shot from the enemy; but, seeing a Frenchman fall at the same time, he sprang forward, seized his gun, and continued the action. Shute, another private in the party, of Concord, New Hampshire, lately deceased, was struck by a ball in the head and made senseless, about the time that Rogers was wounded in the wrist. On coming to himself, he perceived one of the party engaged in rather a singular operation of surgery. He was cutting off Major Rogers's queue to stop the hole in his wrist through which the ball had passed.

The enemy used every artifice to induce the rangers to submit. He assured them, at one time, that large reinforcements were at hand, by whom they would be cut to pieces without mercy, and that if they surrendered they should be treated with kindness. He called on Rogers by name, and assured him of his esteem and friendship, and expressed his regret that his brave companions in arms should persist in maintaining the contest, at the hazard of certain death. But these blandishments were as unavailing as the superior physical power of the enemy; and, after Major Rogers's second wound had disabled him, the contest was kept up by Lieutenant Stark, with equal bravery and conduct, till at the ap-



proach of night the fire of the enemy ceased, and the rangers were able to take up their retreat in safety.

The rangers were much weakened by the loss of men killed, and they had a great number too severely wounded to travel without extreme difficulty and the assistance of their comrades. Still, however, they were so near the French fort, that it was deemed absolutely necessary to make the best of their way during the night. Perceiving a large fire in the woods, which they supposed to be that of a hostile party, they made a long circuit in the night, and found themselves in the morning six miles south of the advanced guard of the French, on Lake George. The wounded were unable to advance further on foot, and they were still forty miles from Fort William Henry.

In this distressing state of affairs, Lieutenant Stark volunteered, with two of his men, to proceed to the fort and return with sleighs for the wounded. The snow was four feet deep, on a level, and could be traversed only in snow-shoes. Notwithstanding their efforts and exhaustion the preceding day and night, Stark and his companions reached the fort, at a distance of forty miles, by evening. They got back to their companions with a sleigh and a small reenforcing party by the next morning. The party, reduced to forty-eight effective and six wounded men, with the prisoners they had taken from the convoy, reached the fort in safety, the same evening.

Before the sleigh came to their relief, the party, looking back upon the ice, saw a dark object following them. Supposing it might be one of their stragglers, the sleigh, on its arrival, was sent for him. It proved to be one of their party, (Joshua Martin, of Goffstown, New Hampshire,) whose hip-joint had been shattered by a ball, which passed through his body. He had been left for dead on the field of battle, but recovering himself, he had kindled a fire in the night; and, thus being kept from freezing, was enabled to drag himself after them to the lake. This was the fire, which the retreating rangers had supposed to belong to a hostile camp. The loss of time occasioned by the circuitous line of their retreat

enabled Martin, badly wounded as he was, to overtake them. He was so exhausted, that he sunk down the moment the relief reached him. He was transported, with his disabled comrades, to the fort, recovered from his wounds, served through the war, and died at an advanced age, at Goffstown.

In this severe affair, the rangers, out of seventy-eight men, had fourteen killed, six wounded, and six taken prisoners. The force of the enemy engaged amounted to two hundred and fifty, of which, according to a statement subsequently made by the enemy to Major Rogers, one hundred and sixteen were killed or mortally wounded. A large share of the honor of the day unquestionably belongs to Stark. After the first partial success against the convoy, it was recommended by the council of officers to retreat, by a different route from that by which they came; a settled practice of warfare borrowed by the rangers from the Indians. Had they pursued this prudent course, they would have escaped the battle. Rogers, however, rendered confident by a long series of successful adventures, and relying on the terrors with which his rangers had inspired the enemy, declared that they would not *dare* pursue him, and took the same route back. The valor and resolution of Stark and his division of the little party evidently saved the whole band from destruction, when they fell in with the overwhelming force of the enemy. After Captain Spikeman was killed and Rogers was disabled by his wounds, Stark's fortitude and perseverance prevented the party from throwing away their lives, in a panic flight before a victorious enemy; and by volunteering to travel forty miles on snow-shoes and accomplishing the journey in a day, after the toils of the preceding days and nights, he brought off the wounded in safety. On the reorganization of the corps, Stark received the justly merited promotion to the rank of Captain, in the place of Spikeman, who was killed. The whole party were honorably noticed by the commander-in-chief.

In the month of March, 1757, Fort William Henry was saved by the forethought and vigilance of Captain

Stark, then, in the absence of Major Rogers, acting commander-in-chief of the rangers. While going the rounds on the evening of the 16th, he overheard some of his rangers planning a celebration of St. Patrick's (the following) day. A large portion of this corps were, like himself, of Irish origin. Knowing that there were also a great many Irish among the regular troops, he justly foresaw the danger, to which the post would be exposed, at the close of a day to be spent in excess and intoxication. He accordingly gave directions to the sutler that no spirituous liquors should be issued, except by authority of written orders from himself; and when applied to for these orders, he pleaded the lameness of his wrist, produced by a wound, as an excuse for not giving them. In this way he kept the rangers sober. The Irish troops of the regular army, forming a part of the garrison, celebrated the day with the usual license and excess. The French, acquainted with the Irish custom, and calculating upon the consequent disability of the garrison, planned an attack for that night. They were, however, repulsed by Stark's sober rangers, while the stupified regulars were coming to their senses.

In the month of April, Stark's company of rangers, with several others, was ordered from the position on the lakes, to Albany and New York, whence it was embarked for Halifax, as a part of the expedition, against that place, under the Earl of Loudoun. Captain Stark himself, being on a scouting party at the time the troops broke up from their quarters, did not rejoin his company till it reached New York. He was there seized with the smallpox, and thus prevented from proceeding to Halifax. At the close of the season his company was again ordered to its old position on the lakes, and was rejoined by him at Albany. During the winter, he was stationed at Fort Edward. Fort William Henry had capitulated to the French in the course of the summer, and many of the unhappy prisoners of war experienced the fate, too often attending capitulation to an army composed in part of savages. They were dragged from their ranks and tomahawked, in the sight of the French officers.

The force of rangers was very much increased for the year 1758, by the enlistment of four new companies of a hundred men each, and a company of Indians to be employed in the ranging service. The four companies were promptly enlisted in New England. This increase of force formed a part of the prodigious military effort, made both by the British government and the Colonies for the approaching campaign. Bent on the acquisition of Canada, at whatever cost, the governments on both sides of the Atlantic made exertions unparalleled in former wars. Massachusetts resolved to raise seven thousand men, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand; a force which, in proportion to the population, would have been deemed very great in France under the government of Napoleon. The Earl of Loudoun having returned to England, General Abercromby was intrusted with the command-in-chief of the entire forces in the field, amounting in troops of all descriptions to fifty thousand men, the largest army which had ever been arrayed in America.

Captain Stark remained with his company of rangers at or near Fort Edward, actively engaged in the arduous duties of that service. A severe action was fought on the 13th of March, by a detachment of about one hundred and eighty men under Major Rogers, against six hundred French and Canadians. A portion of Captain Stark's company was detached on this unequal service, but he himself was not included in it. On the retreat of the remnant of the brave but overmatched party, he was sent out with a small band, to aid their return.

The force collected for the expedition against Ticonderoga was about sixteen thousand men, and on the morning of the 5th of July, 1758, it was put in motion, in batteaux, to descend Lake George. "The order of march," says Major Rogers, in his Journal, "exhibited a splendid military show." The regular troops occupied the centre, and the provincials the wings. For the advanced guard, the light infantry flanked the right, and the rangers the left, of Colonel Bradstreet's batteau-men.

In this order the army proceeded until dark, down

Lake George, to Sabbath-day Point. Here it halted to refresh. On this momentous evening, in expectation of the impending battle, Lord Howe invited Captain Stark to sup with him in his tent. With that amiable familiarity which endeared him to the army, this gallant and lamented nobleman, reposing upon a bear-skin (his camp-bed) with the brave partisan from the wilds of New Hampshire, conversed with him on the position of the fort and the mode of attack. The imagination of the young and high-bred officer, fresh from the gay circles of the British court, could not but be impressed with the grandeur and solemnity of the scene, as they moved with their mighty host, beneath the darkness of night, across the inland waters of this untrodden wilderness. After a few hours of repose, the march was resumed. Lord Howe led the van in a large boat, accompanied with a guard of rangers and boatmen. Lieutenant Holmes was sent forward to reconnoitre the landing-place, and ascertain if the enemy were posted there. He returned at daybreak to the army, then off the Blue Mountain, within four miles of the landing-place, which he reported to be in possession of the French, as he discovered by their fires. At daybreak, Lord Howe proceeded with a few officers to within a quarter of a mile of the landing, to make a personal *reconnaissance*. He found it in possession of the enemy, and returned to aid in the landing of the troops below.

The landing was effected by noon of the 6th, and the rangers were posted on the left wing. After the fatal lesson of Braddock's defeat, the British generals learned the necessity of clearing the woods before the main body, by throwing out the rangers as a flank or advanced guard. On the present occasion, Major Rogers was directed to open the way from Lake George to the plains of Ticonderoga. This route was intersected by a creek, crossed by a bridge, which was to be passed by the advancing army. Rogers led the van of the rangers, and Stark their rear, two hundred strong. On approaching the bridge, Rogers perceived it to be occupied by Canadians and Indians. He came to a halt, for a few moments, by

which the rear, in full march under Stark, was thrown upon the front. Stark, not comprehending or heeding the cause of the halt, declared "it was no time for delay," and pushed forward to the bridge. The enemy fled before him, and the passage was left free to the advancing columns. Lord Howe commanded the centre. At the head of his columns, he fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy, which had lost its way in the woods, on the retreat from Lake George. He immediately attacked and dispersed it; but, exposing himself with too much eagerness, he fell at the first fire of the enemy.

This gallant nobleman was in the thirty-fourth year of his age, of the most promising military talents, and greatly endeared by his estimable qualities, to both the British and provincial troops. The General Court of Massachusetts, from respect to his memory, appropriated two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, for the erection of his monument in Westminster Abbey. He was the brother of Sir William Howe, who commanded the British army in the war of the Revolution. Stark was warmly attached to Lord Howe; and had attracted no little of his notice. They were nearly of an age, and Lord Howe had occasionally joined the midnight scouts of the rangers, to learn their modes of warfare and acquire a knowledge of the country. His death was deeply felt in the army, and by none more truly deplored than by Stark; who lived, however, to find a consolation for the untimely fate of his noble friend, in the reflection, during the progress of the Revolutionary war, that, had he lived, his talents would have been exerted against the patriotic cause.

With this inauspicious event, commenced a series of disasters to the British arms. No further progress was made on the 6th; the advanced parties of the American army were called in, and the French kept themselves within their intrenchments. On the morning of the 7th, the American army was again in motion. The rangers were ordered to the post which they had occupied the day before, and Captain Stark, with a strong detachment

from the corps, was sent forward, with the aid of the general-in-chief and the chief engineer, to reconnoitre the fort. In the course of the day, the whole army was moved up to the Saw Mills, the advanced post of the rangers. The party of Captain Stark returned from their *reconnaissance* in the evening, and the whole army passed the night on their arms. All the accounts, as well of the reconnoitring party, as of the prisoners, agreed in representing the force of the French, commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm, as greatly inferior to the English. It consisted of six thousand men, of which eight battalions were regular troops; the rest Canadians and Indians. They were encamped before the fort, and were busily occupied in intrenching themselves behind a breastwork of large trees, felled and piled together to the height of eight or nine feet, so as to present a front of sharpened branches and interwoven limbs, almost impervious to an advancing enemy. Three thousand men, principally Canadians and French, had been detached by the Marquis de Montcalm to the Mohawk river, to assist the operations in that quarter; but these had been recalled, on the advance of the English, and were expected every hour.

Nothing but an apathy and indecision, difficult to be conceived, sufficiently explain the tardiness of the British movements. Contemporary writers ascribe it to the incapacity of the commander-in-chief, General Abercromby. Stark was ever of opinion that the disasters of the expedition were in no small degree owing to the fall of Lord Howe. If the British army, after a sufficient *reconnoissance* of the ground, had pushed on at the moment of landing, and before the French, who were without artillery, had had time to intrench themselves within a formidable breastwork of trees, the success of the attack cannot be doubted. But the delay was fatal. On the morning of the 8th, the army was again in motion. At sunrise, Sir William Johnson arrived, with a party of four hundred and forty Indians. At seven the troops moved forward, Stark's division of rangers in the van. His lieutenant led the advanced guard, which,

within three hundred yards of the intrenchments, was fired upon by a party of French, of two hundred men in ambush. The remainder of the rangers came up to support their comrades, and the enemy were driven in. The light infantry now moved up to the right of the rangers, and the batteau-men to the left, and continued to skirmish with the advanced parties of the enemy, but without the loss of a man.

While the rangers were thus employed, the main body of the army was forming. At ten o'clock, the rangers were ordered to drive in the advanced parties of the enemy, preparatory to a general assault. This service was gallantly performed, and a party of the regular troops moved up to the breastwork. The obstacles which impeded the advance, and the height of the breastwork, did not prevent the attempt to scale it; but Major Proby, who led the pickets engaged in this perilous service, was killed within a few yards of the works. The attempt was repeated several times for four hours. But the trees, which had been piled up on their approach, broke the advancing columns; it was found impossible to carry the breastwork; and the general-in-chief ordered a retreat. It was the duty of the rangers to be the last, as they had been the first, at the post of danger; and Major Rogers and Captain Stark were employed till late in the evening, in bringing up the rear. There fell on this disastrous and bloody day, five hundred regulars killed, and twelve hundred wounded; of the Provincials, one hundred killed and two hundred and fifty wounded; leaving the British army still at twice the French force.

Notwithstanding this, a precipitate retreat was ordered; the attempt on the fort was abandoned; and by evening the next day, the whole army had returned to their camp, at the south end of Lake George. Here the troops received the thanks of the commanding general, for their good behavior; a compliment which certainly it was not in the power of the army to return to the commanding general.

No further attempt was made upon Ticonderoga the present season. The disgrace of this repulse was partly



redeemed by the success of an expedition against Fort Frontenac, by a party of three thousand, detached under Colonel Bradstreet to the Mohawk. No general operations were attempted by the main army, and the brunt of the service fell upon the rangers, who were engaged in their accustomed duty in observing the enemy, reconnoitring his posts, watching his movements, and waylaying his foraging parties.

Severe battles were frequently fought on these occasions. On the 8th of August, an affair of more than ordinary importance took place. A party of rangers and regulars, amounting in the whole to five or six hundred, had been employed to scour the woods. On their return, they were met by a party of the enemy of about equal force. In the progress of this action, Major Israel Putnam, commanding a company of rangers, fell into the hands of the enemy. He was tied to a tree by the Indians, and for a long time was within the fire of both parties, and otherwise exposed to peril and outrage from the savage foe. The particulars of this occurrence, with the subsequent captivity and sufferings of Putnam, form one of the most extraordinary and romantic incidents in American history, and will be particularly narrated in another volume of this work. The field was obstinately contested on both sides. Four several charges were made by the enemy on the rangers; but officers and men maintained their ground with singular firmness and intrepidity, and at the end of an hour the enemy broke and dispersed. About one tenth of the Anglo-American party were killed, wounded, and missing; but of the latter, twenty-one came in the next day.

At the close of this campaign, Captain Stark obtained a furlough; and returning home, was married to Elizabeth Page, daughter of Captain Page of Dunbarton. In the spring, a new enlistment of rangers was made in New Hampshire, and Captain John Stark was again found at the seat of war, at the head of his company. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who, at the close of the last campaign, had distinguished himself by the capture of Louisburg, was now advanced to the chief command of the forces on the

Canadian frontier. The plan of the campaign aimed at the acquisition of the entire possessions of France on the American continent. The expedition against Quebec, a leading feature of the plan, consisted of two parts. General Wolfe, with a large force assembled at Louisbourg, was to move up the St. Lawrence; and Sir Jeffrey Amherst, after effecting the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to proceed by Lake Champlain and the St. John's into Canada, and unite his arms with those of General Wolfe under the walls of Quebec.

The plan was admirably conceived, and ample means seem to have been at the command of Sir Jeffrey Amherst to effect his part of it. But the evil genius of delay appeared to control his movements. It was the 22d of July, before he was prepared to cross Lake George, and move upon Ticonderoga. Captain Stark, as usual, was in the advance with his rangers. The plan of attack was pretty nearly the same as that of the preceding year; but the forces of the enemy being withdrawn to Quebec, the garrisons were not sufficiently strong to resist the English army, and successively retreated, without a battle, from Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Instead of pursuing his success and moving up the lake, Sir Jeffrey Amherst deemed it necessary to intrench himself in this quarter, till he could be assured of a superiority on the water, and eventually went into winter-quarters, without making an effort to unite his forces with those of General Wolfe. To this failure on his part, all the embarrassments of that gallant officer's movements before Quebec were ascribed.

As soon as he had taken up the station at Crown Point, General Amherst directed Captain Stark, with two hundred rangers, to open a road from that post to Number Four, on the Connecticut river, a distance of about eighty miles, through an almost pathless wilderness. In consequence of being employed on this arduous service, he was spared the painful necessity of joining Major Rogers, in his expedition against the St. Francis Indians, in which their settlement was burned, and a large portion of the tribe destroyed. This tribe, from its position on

the frontier, had, from the earliest settlement of the country, been employed by the French as instruments of havoc and desolation, for the purpose of striking terror into the minds of the British colonists, and preventing their extension to the north and west. The whole border was filled with traditions of massacre, plunder, and captivity worse than death, suffered by the inhabitants at the hands of the St. Francis Indians; and now that it was necessary to open the road to Canada, there were no compunctious visitings of conscience, to avert the fate of this feared and hated tribe.

The expedition against them by Rogers, with a detachment of the rangers, was conducted with singular boldness and success; and the sufferings of his party, on their return, seem almost to exceed the capacity of human endurance. Captain Stark, as we have seen in the early part of this Memoir, had experienced a great deal of kindness from these Indians, during his captivity among them in his youth. His frankness and intrepidity won their favor, and he was adopted as a young warrior into their tribe. He never forgot, through life, the kindness he then received from them; and although, during the war of which we have been narrating some of the incidents, he was continually engaged with their hostile scouting parties, he rejoiced, that his detachment upon another service spared him the painful necessity of assisting in their destruction.

After completing the road from Crown Point to Number Four, the army being withdrawn to winter-quarters, Captain Stark returned home. In the spring of 1760, he received orders from Sir Jeffrey Amherst, to direct the recruiting service in the province of New Hampshire. As he does not appear to have been attached to the corps of rangers, which was marched into Canada in the course of the campaign of this year, it is probable he was stationed during the summer at Crown Point.

The events of this year brought the war, in this part of America, to a close. A portion of the rangers were ordered to Detroit, to engage in the military operations in that quarter; but Stark, who had formed domestic

relations, deemed himself justified in retiring from the service, to which he had already devoted some of the best years of his life, and of which the substantial objects had been attained, in the reduction of Canada. In addition to this consideration, discontents existed in the minds of the provincial troops. Their officers had reason to complain of the preference claimed and enjoyed by the officers of the British army. The superiority, arrogated by regular troops over colonial forces and especially militia drafts, appeared in its most offensive form on the part of the young Englishmen, who held important commands in the English army, and who manifested toward the Americans the offensive hauteur, which forms so conspicuous a trait in their national character. The rustic manners and uncouth appearance of the provincial corps, many of whom came fresh from the plough and the workshop to the camp, furnished constant matter of ridicule to the young men, who had received their military education in the drawing rooms of London. To men like Stark, who had passed their youth amidst the hardships of a frontier life, who had served with bravery, conduct, and success, in many a severe campaign, and who felt conscious that they possessed the substantial qualities of the officer, proved in all the hardships and achievements of the actual service, this arrogant assumption of the young men, who had purchased commissions in the English army, was intolerable. He retired from the service, however, in possession of the good-will of General Amherst, who in accepting his resignation assured him of the continuance of his protection, and promised him that he should resume his rank in the army, whenever he chose to rejoin it.

This it is very likely he would have done, had the war continued; but the restoration of peace left him to the undisturbed pursuit of his private occupations. No event is recorded of public interest, in his life, during the period, which elapsed from the close of the Seven Years' War till the commencement of the Revolution. When the controversy assumed a decided form and seemed drawing to a crisis, a portion of the American offi-

cers, who had served with success and honor in the British army, were drawn, partly it may be supposed under the influence of habits of military subordination, to espouse the royal side. They could not, as men who had received commissions in the British army, who were still in the receipt of their half-pay on the peace establishment, and had been brought up in the habits of uninquiring acquiescence which belong to military life, conceive of a state of things, in which they could lawfully turn their arms against their sovereign. Under the influence of these feelings, Major Rogers, the famous chief of rangers, under whose command Stark had served in the Seven Years' War, having passed the greater portion of his time in England after the peace of 1763, was induced, on the commencement of hostilities in 1775, to adopt the British side. In like manner, William Stark, the elder brother of the hero of our narrative, in no degree his inferior in courage and hardihood, but possessed of less of the moral firmness of the patriot soldier, was lost to the cause of the Revolution. He had served with reputation as an officer of rangers, had been present at the surrender of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, had assisted in the capture of Louisburg by General Amherst, and had fought with Wolfe at Quebec. At the commencement of the revolutionary war, he applied for the command of one of the New Hampshire regiments. The General Assembly gave the preference to another colonel, and William Stark listened to the overtures made him by the enemy, and passed into the British service. He became a colonel in the English army, and was killed by a fall from his horse on Long Island. On the eve of his departure for New York, he communicated his intentions to his brother, to whom the same overtures had been made, and urged him to follow his example. But John steadily resisted the proposal, and parted with his brother never to meet again.

These facts are referred to, in order to show, that the course pursued by the gallant and patriotic officers who had distinguished themselves in the Seven Years' War, and who hastened to range themselves on the side of the

Revolution, was not a hasty and unreflecting adhesion to the popular cause. They prove that the question was presented to the mind of Stark as one to be deliberately weighed, and that he decided for his country, against the influence of authority and temptation to which many a mind would have yielded, and with the immediate sacrifice of his emoluments as a British officer. His mind, however, was made up from the first. He uniformly maintained the popular side in the great public controversy, which commenced with the attempted establishment of a new colonial system, after the downfall of the French power on the American continent. He formed the rallying-point of his neighbors and fellow-citizens, and gave the tone to the public sentiment in his vicinity. On the organization of the Committees of Safety in 1774, an organization whose efficiency and extent have not as yet been duly appreciated and set forth, Stark became a member of one of those bodies, for the town in which he lived. In this capacity, he exhibited the strength and wisdom of his character, signaling his moderation as well as his firmness. He spared no pains to produce a cordial unanimity among the people, and to win over the wavering and disaffected to the popular cause. His military experience enabled him to act with effect, in preparing measures for a vigorous demonstration of strength, when the crisis should arrive.

Careful reflection upon the nature of the art of war will lead us to the conclusion, that the time, at which the revolutionary contest was brought on, was all-important to its success. If, instead of ten or twelve years from the close of the Seven Years' War, a period three or four times as long had elapsed before the commencement of the patriotic struggle, it is manifest, that all the military experience of the colonies would have passed away, and all the confidence and courage inspired by the conscious possession of tried leaders would have vanished. It is not unlikely, that the recurrence of a war every fifteen or twenty years is absolutely necessary, to keep up the military character of a people, and prevent the traditional portions of the military art, and that skill, which

is acquired by actual service, from dying out. Whatever may be thought of this as a general principle, it is notorious that the recent experience of the Seven Years' War had a most salutary influence upon the character of the revolutionary struggle. The officers who had been trained in its arduous campaigns, with few exceptions espoused the patriotic cause. So great had been the numbers of those, who, from 1754 to 1762, had served in every part of the country, from Nova Scotia to Florida, that there was found some one, and often several, of them in every town and settlement throughout the colony, to whom the idea of war, of its alarm, its preparation, its organization, its resources, its exposures, its prizes, was familiar.

Were the records of the Seven Years' War preserved to us, as amply as those of the Revolution, they would probably disclose, to say the least, as great an amount of military service, to which we are now perhaps likely to do but partial justice, for the want of more detailed accounts, and the superior interest attached to the revolutionary annals. But facts which occasionally come to light show the prodigious number of men who were engaged in the military service in that war. In a recent obituary notice of an individual of the town of Grafton in Worcester county, who served in the Seven Years' War, it is stated, that thirty persons from this town were killed in the course of that war. There is no reason to suppose, that Grafton furnished more than its share of soldiers, or that an unusual proportion of those whom it furnished were killed. The population of this town in 1820 was but eleven hundred and fifty-four.

Of those officers of the Seven Years' War whose experience and character contributed to give the first impulse to the revolutionary struggle, Stark was among the most prompt and efficient. The existing state of things in New Hampshire, as in the other New England colonies, furnished better materials for the speedy organization of a large force, than would at first be supposed. By the old militia law, every male inhabitant, from the age of sixteen to that of sixty, was obliged to be pro-

vided with a musket and bayonet, a knapsack, cartridge-box, a pound of powder, twenty bullets, and twelve flints. Every town was obliged to keep in readiness a barrel of powder, two hundred pounds of lead, and three hundred flints for every sixty men; besides a quantity of arms and ammunition for the supply of those, who were unable to provide themselves with the necessary articles. Those persons, who by reason of dignity and station were exempt from the discharge of ordinary military duty, were obliged to keep on hand the statutory arms and ammunition. These requisitions were not strictly observed in time of peace, either by the towns or individuals. But Governor Wentworth had a few years before, by the appointment of officers and the review of the regiments, infused new life into the militia system of New Hampshire. The Provincial Convention, which assembled at Exeter, in January, 1775, in their address to their constituents, exhorted them, among other things, to devote themselves to exercise in the military art, that they might be ready to repel invasion. In pursuance of this exhortation, voluntary associations were formed, among the militia of the province, for the purpose of practice in military manœuvres and drilling, under the command of those whose experience in former wars qualified them for this duty. In addition to all this, the Committees of Inspection and Safety made it their duty, by personal application to every individual, to enforce his preparation for the anticipated struggle. In the discharge of all these voluntary duties, Stark was distinguished for his promptitude, zeal, and influence among his fellow-citizens.

The commencement of hostilities, on the 19th of April, 1775, can hardly be said to have taken the country unprepared. The tidings spread with rapidity through the continent, and from every part of New England thousands of volunteers rushed to the scene of action. The greater part of the adjacent colonies received the intelligence within twenty-four hours. Within ten minutes after its reception, Stark had mounted his horse, and was on his way toward the seacoast, having directed the volunteers of his neighborhood to rendezvous at Medford



near Boston. About twelve hundred men hastened, on the first alarm, from those parts of New Hampshire which bordered on Massachusetts, and, in pursuance of the advice of Stark, concentrated themselves at Medford. Of these, a portion returned, but enough remained to constitute two regiments, which were organized under the authority of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. Of the first of these regiments, Stark was unanimously elected colonel, Isaac Wyman lieutenant-colonel, and Andrew M'Clary major. The late Major-General Dearborn commanded a company in this regiment. As soon as the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire met, they voted to enlist two thousand men for eight months, of whom the two regiments, already embodied at the theatre of war, were to make a part. The residue formed a third regiment. Colonels Stark and Reed were confirmed in the command of the first two regiments, and Enoch Poor was appointed to the third. The greater part of the two New Hampshire regiments was stationed at Medford; but a detachment from them formed a part of the left wing of the army and was posted at Chelsea, and another part, we believe, was stationed near the Inman Farm, at Cambridge. Colonel Stark's quarters were at Medford. Having left home at a few minutes' notice, he went back to New Hampshire, after the organization of the regiment, to arrange his affairs; and, after two days devoted to that object, returned to his command.

Shortly after rejoining his regiment, he was directed by General Ward to take a small escort and examine Noddle's Island, with a view to ascertain the practicability of establishing a battery there for the annoyance of the British shipping. He repaired to the island with Major M'Clary, a few other officers, and a small party, crossing over from Chelsea. While engaged in reconnoitring the ground, they perceived a party of the enemy, who had landed upon the island with the intention of cutting them off, by getting possession of their boat. After exchanging a few shots, the British party retired, and left Colonel Stark and his companions in the undisturbed possession of their boat.

On the ever memorable seventeenth of June, 1775, Stark's regiment formed the left of the American line. The part of the British troops opposed to it consisted of the Welsh Fusileers, who had distinguished themselves at the battle of Minden, and were considered one of the finest corps in the English army. It is not our present purpose to relate in detail the entire history of this glorious battle. A fitter opportunity for this attempt may present itself, in connexion with the biography of some one of the distinguished men, who exercised the chief command of the day. But among all who stood forward at this critical conjuncture, and bore their part in a conflict, which exerted an all-important influence upon the fate of the war, none is entitled to higher commendation than Stark. It is related, that when General Gage, reconnoitring the scene of the approaching action from Boston, before the battle commenced, was asked whether he thought the Americans would wait the assault of the royal troops, he replied, that "they would, if one John Stark were among them, for he was a brave fellow, and had served under him at Lake George in 1758 and 1759."

Colonel Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, having perceived, at about nine o'clock of the morning of the eventful day, the necessity of a reenforcement, despatched Major Brooks to the head-quarters of General Ward at Cambridge, to make a representation to that effect. The matter was referred to a council of war, and by their advice orders were sent to Colonel Stark at Medford to reinforce Colonel Prescott with two hundred men from the New Hampshire troops. This order was promptly obeyed; and the detachment required was sent under Lieutenant-Colonel Wyman to the scene of action. The men were in an imperfect state of preparation for so unexpected a call. Every man was immediately supplied with two flints and with a gill of powder and fifteen balls to make into cartridges. Nearly all of them, however, were unprovided with cartridge-boxes, and made use of powder-horns as a substitute. The guns were of different sizes, and the men were obliged in many cases to hammer their balls to a proper size.

At a later hour another order arrived by express, directing Colonel Stark to repair with his whole regiment to Charlestown.

At an early period of the day, Captain Knowlton had been posted with a detachment of Connecticut troops, on the extreme left of the American line, behind a rail fence, between the Mystic River and the road. The troops pulled up another fence in the neighborhood, placed it in the ground near that which covered their front, and filled the interval between them with the new-mown grass. A portion of this fence had a low stone wall beneath it. The whole formed a very inadequate breastwork. On the arrival of the New Hampshire troops at the scene of action, (which was after the British troops and reenforcements had landed in Charlestown, but before their advance from the place of disembarkation commenced,) a portion of them were detached by General Putman to work upon the intrenchments of Bunker Hill, properly so called. The residue, under their Colonels, Stark and Reed, were ordered to take post at Captain Knowlton's position just described. On receiving this order, Colonel Stark made a brief and animated address to his men, and marched them off to the station designated. He had not precipitated his march from Medford, distant about five miles from the heights of Charlestown, and accordingly brought his men to the ground unexhausted and vigorous, justly stating, that "one fresh man in battle is better than ten who are fatigued."

The British right wing, consisting of the fifth regiment, a regiment of grenadiers, and one of light infantry, moved forward to the attack of the Americans behind the rail fence, a portion of the light companies at the same time attempting to turn the extreme left of the American line. General Howe commanded on this portion of the field. The general order given to the American troops, to reserve their fire till the near approach of the enemy, had been repeated and enforced by Stark. This order was strictly obeyed, so that when his men threw in their volley, the veterans of the British army recoiled before

it. The same result was produced by the destructive fire from within the redoubt, and along the line upon the declivity of the hill, and compelled the enemy precipitately to fall back. A second and third charge were followed by the same effect; nor was it till the British army, strengthened by powerful reinforcements, was brought up for a fourth time to the assault, that they succeeded in forcing from the field the scanty numbers opposed to them, of whom many were exhausted by the labors of the preceding night, and of the day passed without refreshment.

In the heat of the action it was reported to Colonel Stark that his son, a young man of sixteen, who had followed him to the field, had just been killed. He remarked to the person who brought him the information, that it was not the moment to talk of private affairs, when the enemy was in force in front; and ordered him back to his duty. The report, however, proved erroneous, and his son served through the war as a staff-officer.

After the fate of the day was decided, Stark drew off his regiment in such order that he was not pursued. The following extract from a letter written by him the second day after the battle, deserves preservation, as an authentic document relative to this most important event.

“ TO THE HON. MATTHEW THORNTON, EXETER.

Medford, June 19, 1775.

“ SIR,

“ I embrace this opportunity by Colonel Holland, to give you some particulars of an engagement, which was fought on the 17th instant, between the British troops and the Americans.

“ On the 16th, at evening, a detachment of the Massachusetts line marched, by the General's order, to make an intrenchment upon a hill in Charlestown, called Charlestown Hill, near Boston, where they intrenched that night without interruption, but were attacked on the morning of the 17th, very warmly, by the ships of war in Charlestown River and the batteries in Boston. Upon this, I was ordered by the General, to send a detachment

of two hundred men with proper officers to their assistance, which order I promptly obeyed, and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Wyman to command the same. At two o'clock in the afternoon, an express arrived for my whole regiment to proceed to Charlestown to oppose the British, who were landing on Charlestown Point. Accordingly we proceeded and the battle soon came on, in which a number of officers and men of my regiment were killed and wounded. The officers killed were Major M'Clary by a cannon-ball, and Captain Baldwin and Lieutenant Scott by small arms.

"The whole number, including officers, killed and missing . . . . . 15

"Wounded . . . . . 45

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"Total killed, wounded, and missing . . . . . 60

"By Colonel Reed's desire, I transmit the account of those who suffered, belonging to that portion of his regiment who were engaged, viz.

"Killed . . . . . 3

"Wounded . . . . . 29

"Missing . . . . . 1

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33

"Total in both regiments . . . . . 93

"But we remain in good spirits, being well satisfied, that where we have lost one, the enemy have lost three.

"I am, Sir, with great respect,

Yours and the country's

to serve, in a good cause,

"JOHN STARK."

The fate of Major M'Clary demands a brief commemoration. He was a person of commanding stature and Stentorian voice, which was heard amidst the roar of the cannon and musketry, exhorting his men to the discharge of their duty. After the retreat, he hastened to Medford to procure a supply of dressings for the wounded. Returning on this benevolent errand, he

crossed again over Charlestown Neck to reconnoitre the British troops, which had now taken possession of the heights. Having accomplished that object, he was on his way back to join the retreat of his regiment in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, Captain Dearborn, and other officers. To some remark made on the danger of crossing the Neck, he replied, "The ball is not yet cast, which is commissioned to kill me." At that moment, a shot from the Glasgow destroyed him. Captain Baldwin, another meritorious officer in Stark's regiment, who fell on this occasion, had fought in twenty battles in the former wars. On no part of the line was the execution greater, than on that where the New Hampshire troops were stationed. In an account sent from the British army, bearing date, Boston, 5th July, 1775, and published in London, we are told that the British light infantry were moved up "in companies against the grass fence, but could not penetrate it. Indeed, how could we penetrate it? Most of our grenadiers and light infantry, the moment of presenting themselves, lost three fourths and many nine tenths of their men. Some had only eight or nine men in a company left, some only three, four, or five."\*

On the retreat from Bunker Hill, our troops took post upon the heights in the neighborhood; the regiment of Stark on Winter Hill. The night succeeding the battle and the following day were passed in the labor of intrenching; but the experience of the 19th of April and the 17th of June deterred the British troops from any repetition of the attempt to penetrate into the interior, in this portion of the country. No important movement was made, on either side, for the rest of the season. At the close of the year the term for which the men had engaged had generally expired, and a reenlistment became necessary. Colonel Stark met with extraordinary success in engaging his men to continue in the service, and in a few days his regiment was again full.

While the regiment of Stark was stationed at Winter

\* Detail and Conduct of the American War. London. 1780. p. 13.

Hill, an incident occurred, strikingly illustrative of his character. It is related in his Memoirs on the authority of the late Major Dow of Hampton Falls. The person who had been appointed paymaster of the New Hampshire line, was unfriendly to Colonel Stark, and endeavored to embarrass the payment of his men, in order to create disaffection in the regiment. The troops were marched by companies, to receive their pay, to Medford, where the paymaster had stationed himself. He refused to pay them, on the ground that their pay-rolls were not made out in proper form. The men, highly dissatisfied, returned to their encampment; and the next day marched again to Medford, with new pay-rolls, made out (it was supposed) in the strictest form, but payment was again refused. The same thing was repeated on the third day; and the soldiers returned, ripe for mutiny, to the camp. They besieged the Colonel's quarters clamoring for payment. Colonel Stark was provoked at the vexatious delays interposed by the paymaster, and declared that "as the regiment had made him three visits, he should make them one in return." He accordingly despatched a sergeant's guard, arrested the paymaster at his quarters in Medford, and brought him to camp, to the tune of the Rogue's March. On examination, he could point out no fault in the roll, and the men were paid. Colonel Stark's conduct was submitted to a court of inquiry; but the paymaster had fallen, meantime, under strong suspicion of being a defaulter, and found it advisable to quit the army. The court of inquiry deemed it inexpedient to pursue the affair.

A portion of the officers and men in Stark's regiment had, in the course of the summer of 1775, enlisted as volunteers in the expedition, which was undertaken by direction of General Washington, under the command of Arnold, to penetrate, by the way of the Kennebec, into Canada. Dearborn, (a Major-General in the war of 1812,) a distinguished Captain in Stark's regiment, shared the almost unexampled hardships of this march. Colonel Stark himself remained at his station on Winter-

Hill, till the evacuation of Boston by the British, in the month of March, 1776.

On the occurrence of that event, a small detachment of the army was left at Boston, under the command of General Ward, to complete the erection of the works there begun, while the main body marched to New York, under the command of General Washington. The regiment of Stark was among the troops who proceeded to New York, and their Colonel was assiduously employed on his arrival under the orders of the Commander-in-chief, in strengthening the defences of that place. In the month of May, his regiment was ordered to proceed, by the way of Albany, to join the American army in Canada. Stark came up with the army at St. John's, and thence advanced to the mouth of the river Sorel. The bold and not ill-conceived expedition against Canada, one of the earliest and most favorite projects of the Continental Congress, was now drawing to a close. The utmost that could be hoped was to prevent its being precipitated to a disastrous termination. General Thomas had died of the smallpox, at Sorel, after having raised the siege of Quebec, and retreated to that place. General Sullivan succeeded him in the command, and this circumstance, with the arrival of reinforcements, which raised the entire force of the Americans to four or five thousand men, gave new hopes of retrieving the fortunes of the expedition. General Sullivan deemed it expedient to execute the project of an attack upon the enemy's post at Three Rivers, suggested by Colonel St. Clair, and approved by General Thompson, who, for a few days, during the illness of General Thomas, had the command at Sorel.\* Stark remonstrated, in a council of war, against this expedition, as one requiring for its success a naval superiority upon the river, and the concurrence of too many contingent circumstances. But, it having been decided to pursue the attack, the principles of duty, which governed him while in the service, prompted him to contribute all in

\* St. Clair's *Narrative*, p. 235.



his power to its successful issue. The result, as is well known, was unfortunate.

On the return to Sorel of those who escaped from the disaster of Three Rivers, it became necessary for the American army to retire from Canada. The retreat was conducted by General Sullivan with skill, in the face of a superior and triumphant force of the enemy. In fact, it had been the wish of this commander to defend the post of Sorel; but he was overruled, in this rash purpose, by the unanimous opinion of his officers. It was but a few hours before the appearance of the enemy, that he was finally prevailed upon, by a council of war, to retire. The pursuit was not continued beyond Isle-aux-Noix, the Americans having the command of Lake Champlain. But, though unmolested by the enemy, the army of General Sullivan suffered severely by the smallpox. After passing the lake, the regiment of Stark was stationed at Chimney Point, on the side of the lake opposite to Crown Point, where the remainder of the army was posted. Here it was the opinion of Colonel Stark, that the army should make a stand. General Schuyler, who had assumed the command of the army, and all the general officers under him, thought otherwise, and it was determined in a council of war to fall back to Ticonderoga, contrary to the advice of several of the subordinate officers, who deemed it essential, for the protection of the country on the borders of the lake, to hold Crown Point. This opinion they set forth in a written memorial addressed to the General, but without effect. On the 6th and 7th of July, 1776, the army reached Ticonderoga. On the following day, the Declaration of Independence was received and proclaimed to the army, who hailed it with shouts of applause. The regiment of Stark was stationed on a hill, distant about two miles from the fort, and which was named Mount Independence, in honor of the memorable event which had just been proclaimed. Thus had Colonel Stark the satisfaction, on the theatre of his former military exploits, and sixteen years after he had been present with General Amherst at the taking of Ticonderoga from the

French, to hear the Independence of his country proclaimed, at the head of a patriotic army. In a short period the command of the post devolved on General Gates. Upon his arrival at head-quarters, a reorganization of the army took place, and Colonel Stark was appointed to the command of a brigade, with orders to clear and fortify Mount Independence, then a wilderness.

Nothing further of importance occurred on the northern frontier, in the course of the season. After the disastrous occurrences in New York, General Gates was ordered to reenforce General Washington on the right bank of the Delaware. The regiment of Colonel Stark was among the troops detached from the northern army for this purpose ; and reached the headquarters of the Commander-in-chief, on the 20th of December. By this reenforcement the army of General Washington was swelled to about seven thousand effective men. This was a period of deep and general despondency, and Washington felt the necessity of striking a bold stroke, which might have the effect of changing the gloomy aspect of affairs, and reviving the spirits of the country. In this design, an attack on all the enemy's posts upon the left bank of the Delaware was projected. Owing to the inclemency of the weather, and the state of the river, some portions of this plan miscarried; but that part of it, which was to be executed under the direct command of Washington, the attack upon Trenton, was completely successful. In this attack, General Sullivan commanded the right wing, and Stark, with his regiment, led the vanguard, and contributed his full share to this brilliant enterprise, in which twenty of the enemy were killed and nearly one thousand made prisoners. On the part of the Americans, two persons only were killed, and four or five wounded. But the fact, that two were also frozen to death, shows the rigor of the night, under cover of which this *coup de main* was executed. On the eve of this affair, Colonel Stark, in allusion to the spirit with which the contest had hitherto been carried on, as a war of posts and intrenchments, rather than of battles,

thus expressed himself to the General; "Your men have long been accustomed to place dependence upon spades and pickaxes for safety. But if you ever mean to establish the Independence of the United States, you must teach them to rely upon their firearms." Washington replied, "This is what we have agreed upon. We are to march tomorrow upon Trenton; you are to command the right wing of the advanced guard, and General Greene the left." The Colonel rejoined, that he could not have been assigned to a more acceptable station.

Colonel Stark accompanied Washington, when, a few days afterwards, he again crossed the Delaware. He was with him in the battle at Princeton, and remained with the army till the establishment of the headquarters of General Washington at Morristown. The term for which his men had enlisted had expired before these last brilliant efforts of the American Commander-in-chief. Stark, however, proposed to them a reenlistment for a short period; and his personal influence with his regiment induced them to a man to enter into a new engagement for six weeks. It was not easy, in the critical state of affairs at the time, to render a more important service to the country.

But, as this new enlistment was but for a few weeks, it became necessary to make a more permanent provision to recruit the ranks of the regiment. He was accordingly ordered to New Hampshire to perform that service. By the month of March, 1777, he had discharged the duty so successfully, that his regiment was full. He immediately communicated this intelligence to the Council of New Hampshire and to General Washington. He repaired to Exeter to receive instructions from the authorities of New Hampshire, who were there assembled. While there he was informed, that a new list of promotions had been made, in which his name was omitted, and those of junior officers were found. He ascribed this neglect of what he conceived his just claims, to the unfriendly interposition of some officers of high rank and members of Congress. It was impossible for a man of his lofty spirit and unbending character to acquiesce in

what he considered an injurious disregard of his fair pretensions to advancement. He immediately appeared before the Council, and also waited upon the Generals Sullivan and Poor. He stated the grounds of his dissatisfaction and his determination to retire from the army. Wishing them all possible success in the service of the country, he surrendered his commission and returned home, without any expectation of entering again into the ranks of the army. But, though dissatisfied with his own treatment, he was in no degree disaffected to the cause. He fitted out for the army all the members of his family, who were old enough to join it, and continued, as heretofore, by every means except his personal services in the field, to promote the great cause of his country.

The retirement of Colonel Stark was not viewed with indifference. Generals Sullivan and Poor endeavored to dissuade him from executing his purpose. But he declared that an officer, who would not maintain his rank and assert his own rights, could not be trusted to vindicate those of his country. At the same time he pointed out to them the dangerous situation of Ticonderoga and the necessity of immediate relief, if the northern frontier was to be protected; and he declared his readiness again to take the field, whenever his country should require his services. On his resignation, the Council and House of Delegates of New Hampshire expressed their sense of the value of his services, by the following vote, passed the 21st of March, 1777. "Voted, that the thanks of both Houses in convention be given to Colonel Stark for his good services in the present war; and that, from his early and steadfast attachment to the cause of his country, they make not the least doubt that his future conduct, in whatever state of life Providence may place him, will manifest the same noble disposition of mind." On the passage of this vote, the thanks of both Houses were presented to him by the President.

The time was fast approaching, when the confidence here expressed in the patriotism of Colonel Stark was to be justified, in the most signal and gratifying manner. The war on the northern frontier had thus far been little

else than a succession of disasters, and the summer of 1777 seemed likely to be distinguished by calamities not less distressing than those, which had attended the invasion of Canada. A formidable army was penetrating the States from Canada, and the plan of the campaign, as far as it was developed, threatened a junction of the force of Burgoyne with that of Sir William Howe, which would have effectually broken the States into two feeble and disconnected portions. The retreat of the American army from Ticonderoga, on the approach of Burgoyne, while it filled the public mind with dismay, as the surrender of a position on which the safety of the north depended, was regarded with gloomy apprehension, as the prelude to further reverses. The mind of Washington, however, by a happy forecast perceived a gleam of hope, even at this hour of despondence, and, with a sort of prophetic skill, seems to have foretold, with extraordinary precision, the auspicious change of affairs which was in store. In reply to a letter of General Schuyler, of the 17th of July, communicating the unfavorable state and prospects of the army, he says, "Though our affairs have for some days past worn a gloomy aspect, yet I look forward to a happy change. I trust General Burgoyne's army will meet sooner or later an effectual check; and, as I suggested before, that the success he has had will precipitate his ruin. From your accounts, he appears to be pursuing that line of conduct, which, of all others, is most favorable to us, I mean acting in detachment. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprise on our part, and expose his parties to great hazard. Could we be so happy as to cut one of them off, though it should not exceed four, five, or six hundred men, it would inspirit the people and do away much of their present anxiety. In such an event they would lose sight of past misfortunes, and, urged at the same time by a regard for their own security, they would fly to arms and afford every aid in their power."

It must be confessed that it required no ordinary share of fortitude, to find topics of consolation in the present state of affairs. The British were advancing

with a well-appointed army into the heart of the country, under the conduct, as it was supposed, of the most skilful officers, confident of success and selected to finish the war. The army consisted in part of German troops, veterans of the Seven Years' War, under the command of a general of experience, conduct, and valor. Nothing could have been more ample than the military supplies, the artillery, munitions, and stores, with which the army was provided. A considerable force of Canadians and American loyalists furnished the requisite spies, scouts, and rangers; and a numerous force of savages in their war dresses, with their peculiar weapons and native ferocity, increased the terrors of its approach. Its numbers were usually rated at ten thousand strong.

On the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and the further advance of such an army, the New England States, and particularly New Hampshire and Massachusetts, were filled with alarm. It was felt that their frontier was uncovered, and that strenuous and extraordinary efforts for the protection of the country were necessary. In New Hampshire, as being nearer the scene of danger, a proportionably greater anxiety was felt. The Committee of Safety of what was then called the New Hampshire Grants, the present State of Vermont, wrote in the most pressing terms to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety at Exeter, apprizing them, that, if assistance should not be sent to them, they should be forced to abandon the country and take refuge east of the Connecticut River. When these tidings reached Exeter, the Assembly had finished their spring session and had gone home. A summons from the Committee brought them together again, and in three days they took the most effectual and decisive steps for the defence of the country. Among the patriotic members of the Assembly, who signalized themselves on this occasion, none was more conspicuous than the late Governor Langdon. The members of that body were inclined to despond; the public credit was exhausted; and there were no means of supporting troops, if they could be raised. Meantime the defences of the frontier had fallen, and the enemy, with

overwhelming force, was penetrating into the country. At this gloomy juncture, John Langdon, a merchant of Portsmouth, and Speaker of the Assembly, thus addressed its members:

"I have three thousand dollars in hard money; I will pledge my plate for three thousand more; I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the State. If we succeed in defending our firesides and homes, I may be remunerated; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our old friend Stark, who so nobly maintained the honor of our State at Bunker Hill, may be safely intrusted with the conduct of the enterprise, and we will check the progress of Burgoyne."

This proposal infused life into the measures of the Assembly. They formed the whole militia of the state into two brigades. Of the first they gave the command to William Whipple, of the second to John Stark. They ordered one fourth part of Stark's brigade and one fourth of three regiments of Whipple's to march immediately under the command of Stark, "to stop the progress of the enemy on our western frontiers." They ordered the militia officers to take away arms from all persons, who scrupled or refused to assist in defending the country; and appointed a day of fasting and prayer, which was observed with great solemnity.

But it was in the selection of the commander, who was to direct these measures of protection, that the great hope of the people, under Providence, rested. Stark was now called upon, sooner than he had anticipated, to digest his private griefs and hasten to the defence of his country. Knowing the confidence reposed in his firmness, fortitude, and military experience, by all classes of the community, the Assembly deemed their work of preparation unfinished, till they could hold out his name, as the rallying-point to the people. Deeply wounded by the occurrences of the spring, he refused at first to accept the command of the troops; but consented at length to assume it, on condition, that he should not be obliged to join the main army, but be allowed to hang upon the

wings of the enemy, in the New Hampshire Grants, and to exercise his own discretion as to his movements, accountable to no one but the authorities of New Hampshire. His conditions were complied with, and he was, in the language of the original orders, directed to repair with a separate command, "to Charlestown on Connecticut river; there to consult with a committee from the New Hampshire Grants, respecting his future operations, and the supply of his men with provisions; to take the command of the militia and march into the Grants; to act in conjunction with the troops of that new State, or any other of the States, or the United States, or separately, as it should appear expedient to him, for the protection of the people and the annoyance of the enemy."

The appearance of their favorite commander filled the people with spirits. The militia took the field without hesitation. In a few days Stark proceeded to Charlestown; and, as fast as his men came in, he sent them forward to join the troops of the Grants under Colonel Warner, who had taken post at Manchester, twenty miles to the north of Bennington. Here Stark soon joined him, and met with General Lincoln, who had been sent from Stillwater by General Schuyler, commander of the northern department, to conduct the militia to the west bank of the Hudson. Stark communicated the orders, under which he was acting from the authorities of New Hampshire, stated his views of the dangerous consequences, to the people of Vermont, of removing his force from their borders, and declined obedience to General Schuyler's command. General Lincoln made known to General Schuyler and to Congress the result of his application. On the 19th of August, 1777, that body resolved, "that a copy of General Lincoln's letter be forthwith transmitted to the Council of New Hampshire, and that they be informed that the instructions, which General Stark says he received from them, are destructive of military subordination, and highly prejudicial to the common cause at this crisis; and that therefore they be desired to instruct General Stark to conform himself



to the same rules which other general officers of the militia are subject to, whenever they are called out at the expense of the United States." Notwithstanding this disapprobation of the course pursued by General Stark, and the correctness of the principles involved in the resolution of Congress, the refusal of the General to march his troops to the west of the Hudson was founded upon the soundest views of the state of things, and was productive of inestimable benefits to the country, as the event soon proved.

The levy of the militia, to which we have alluded, was ordered by the Assembly of New Hampshire, on a general consideration of the exposed condition of the western frontier of the State after the abandonment of Ticonderoga by the American army. But events speedily occurred which showed the wisdom of these measures of preparation. At the very period when they were completed, General Burgoyne, filled with an overweening confidence in his superior strength, and greatly deceived as to the extent of the royalist party in the Colonies, disregarding the advice of Baron Riedesel, the Commander-in-chief of the German troops, detached Colonel Baum, with a party of six hundred men, on an expedition, the object of which was, in the first sentence of the instructions given by General Burgoyne to the commander, stated to be, "to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount Riedesel's dragoons, to complete Peters's corps, (of loyalists,) and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages." \*

These instructions bear date the 9th of August, and the detachment of Baum was put in motion, about the time of Stark's arrival at Bennington. The Commander-in-chief of the American army, probably apprized of this movement of the enemy, perceived the wisdom of Stark's dispositions, and approved his plan of operations. On

\* The original of these instructions came into the possession of General Lincoln, and was by him deposited in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A copy of the document is found in their Collections, First Series, Vol. II. p. 25.

the 13th of August, information reached General Stark, that a party of Indians attached to Baum's force had been perceived at Cambridge, about twelve miles northwest from Bennington. He immediately detached Lieutenant-Colonel Gregg, with two hundred men, to stop their march. In the course of the night, he was advised by express, that a large body of the enemy, with a train of artillery, was in the rear of the Indians, in full march for Bennington. He immediately rallied his brigade, with all the militia which had collected at Bennington. Orders were at the same time despatched to the officer in command of Colonel Warner's regiment at Manchester, to march that body of men down to Bennington, and an animated call was made upon all the neighboring militia. These various dispositions were carried promptly into effect.

On the morning of the 14th, Stark moved forward to the support of Colonel Gregg, with the entire force under his command. At the distance of four or five miles, he met the Colonel in full retreat, and the enemy within a mile of him. Stark instantly halted, and drew up his men in order of battle. The enemy, perceiving that he had taken a stand, immediately came to a halt on very advantageous ground and there intrenched themselves. Unable to draw them from their position, he fell back for a mile, leaving only a small party to skirmish with the enemy. This was done with considerable effect. Thirty of their force, with two Indian chiefs, were killed or wounded, without any loss on the American side.

The following day, the 15th, was rainy, and nothing was attempted beyond skirmishing with the enemy. This was done with spirit, and the Indians began to desert the army of Colonel Baum, "because," as they said, "the woods were filled with Yankees." This respite enabled the enemy to complete their breastworks, to apprize General Burgoyne of their situation, and to ask for reinforcements. Colonel Breyman, with an additional body of German troops, was immediately detached to the assistance of Baum.

On the morning of the 16th, General Stark was joined

by Colonel Symonds, with a body of Berkshire militia, and made preparations for an attack, according to a plan proposed by the General and agreed upon in a council of war.

The German troops with their battery were advantageously posted upon a rising ground at a bend in the Wollamsac (a tributary of the Hoosac) on its north bank. The ground fell off to the north and west, a circumstance of which Stark skilfully took advantage. Peters's corps of Tories were intrenched on the other side of the stream, in lower ground, and nearly in front of the German battery. The little river, that meanders through the scene of the action, is fordable in all places. Stark was encamped upon the same side of it as the Germans, but, owing to its serpentine course, it crossed his line of march twice on his way to their position. Their post was carefully reconnoitred at a mile's distance, and the plan of attack was arranged in the following manner. Colonel Nichols, with two hundred men, was detached to attack the rear of the enemy's left, and Colonel Herrick, with three hundred men, to fall upon the rear of their right, with orders to form a junction before they made the assault. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney were also ordered to advance with two hundred men on their right and one hundred in front, to divert their attention from the real point of attack. The action commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon on the rear of the enemy's left, when Colonel Nichols, with great precision, carried into effect the dispositions of the commander. His example was followed by every other portion of the little army. General Stark himself moved forward slowly in front, till he heard the sound of the guns from Colonel Nichols's party, when he rushed upon the Tories, and in a few moments the action became general. "It lasted," says Stark, in his official report, "two hours, and was the hottest I ever saw. It was like one continued clap of thunder." The Indians, alarmed at the prospect of being enclosed between the parties of Nichols and Herrick, fled at the commencement of the action, their main principle of battle-array being to con-

trive or to escape an ambush or an attack in the rear. The Tories were soon driven over the river, and were thus thrown in confusion on the Germans, who were forced from their breastwork. Baum made a brave and resolute defence. The German dragoons, with the discipline of veterans, preserved their ranks unbroken, and, after their ammunition was expended, were led to the charge by their Colonel with the sword; but they were overpowered and obliged to give way, leaving their artillery and baggage on the field.

They were well enclosed in two breastworks, which, owing to the rain on the 15th, they had constructed at leisure. But notwithstanding this protection, with the advantage of two pieces of cannon, arms and ammunition in perfect order, and an auxiliary force of Indians, they were driven from their intrenchments by a band of militia just brought to the field, poorly armed, with few bayonets, without field-pieces, and with little discipline. The superiority of numbers, on the part of the Americans, will, when these things are considered, hardly be thought to abate any thing from the praise due to the conduct of the commander, or the spirit and courage of his men.

The enemy being driven from the field, the militia dispersed to collect the plunder. Scarcely had they done so, before intelligence was brought, that a large reenforcement from the British army was on the march, and within two miles' distance. This was the corps of Colonel Breyman, already mentioned, which had been despatched by General Burgoyne on receiving from Baum intelligence of his position. The rain of the preceding day and the badness of the roads had delayed his arrival; a circumstance which exercised a very important influence on the fate of the battle. On the approach of Breyman's reenforcements, the flying party of Baum made a rally, and the fortune of the day was for a moment in suspense. Stark made an effort to rally the militia; but happily at this juncture Colonel Warner's regiment came up fresh and not yet engaged, and fell with vigor upon the enemy.

This regiment, since the battle fought at Hubbardston,

had been stationed at Manchester. It had been reduced, by the loss sustained in that action, to less than two hundred men. Warner, their Colonel, as we have seen, was at Bennington, and was with General Stark on the 14th. The regiment at Manchester was under the command of Major Samuel Safford. In consequence of the absence of a large number of the men on a scouting party, and other causes, it was not possible to put the regiment in motion on the 14th; on the 15th they marched for Bennington. Owing to the heavy rain of that day, it was near midnight, when the troops arrived within a mile of Bennington. Fatigued with the march of the preceding day, their arms and equipments injured by the rain, and their ammunition scanty, a considerable portion of the ensuing day was exhausted, before the men could prepare themselves for battle. The first assault had been made in the manner described, and the enemy driven from the field, before this regiment came into action. At the most critical moment of the day, when the arrival of Breyman's reenforcement threatened a reverse of its good fortune, Warner's troops appeared in the field.\* Stark, with what men he had been able to rally,

\* Some confusion on the subject of Warner's regiment exists in the histories, and has probably perplexed most readers of the accounts of the battle. General Stark, in his official letter to General Gates, expressly states that Warner was with him on the 14th; and Gordon and others correctly follow this authority. But yet it is also stated, that Warner's regiment came up fresh after the first action of the 16th. The Editor of the Memoir appears to have thought there must have been an error in the official account of the events of the 14th, which he seems accordingly to have altered by omitting the names of Warner, Herrick, and Brush as being with Stark on that day. I have followed, however, a copy of Stark's letter, made from the original among Gates's papers, now in the archives of the New York Historical Society. The facts mentioned in the text explain this difficulty. The accounts generally state, that Warner's regiment came up "fresh from Manchester," on the afternoon of the 16th. This is not correct. That regiment, as we have seen, arrived very late the night before, drenched with rain; and the time required to dry their arms and prepare ammunition, after the march of the 15th, accounts for their coming so late into action on the 16th. I am indebted for the knowledge of this fact, and of others, illustrative of the action, to Mr. Hiland Hall, of Bennington, member of Congress from Vermont.

pushed forward to his assistance, and the battle was contested with great obstinacy on both sides till sunset, when the enemy were obliged to give way. General Stark pursued their flying forces till dark, and was obliged to draw off his men, to prevent them from firing upon each other under cover of night. "With one hour more of daylight," as he observes in his official report, "he would have captured the whole body." The fruits of the victory were four pieces of brass cannon, several hundred stand of arms, eight brass drums, a quantity of German broad swords, and about seven hundred prisoners. Two hundred and seven were killed upon the spot; the number of the wounded was not ascertained. Colonel Baum was wounded and made a prisoner, but shortly after died of his wounds. The loss of the Americans was thirty killed and forty wounded. The General's horse was killed in the action.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the conduct of those who gained the battle of Bennington, officers and men. It is perhaps the most conspicuous example of the performance by militia of all that is expected of regular, veteran troops. The fortitude and resolution, with which the lines at Bunker Hill were maintained, by recent recruits, against the assault of a powerful army of experienced soldiers, have always been regarded with admiration. But at Bennington, the hardy yeomen of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, many of them fresh from the plough and unused to the camp, "advanced," as General Stark expresses it in his official letter, "through fire and smoke, and mounted breastworks, that were well fortified and defended with cannon."

Fortunately for the success of the battle, Stark was most ably seconded by the officers under him; every previous disposition of his little force was most faithfully executed. He expresses his particular obligations to Colonels Warner and Herrick, "whose superior skill was of great service to him." Indeed the battle was planned and fought with a degree of military talent and science, which would have done no discredit to any service in Europe. A higher degree of discipline might have

enabled the General to check the eagerness of his men to possess themselves of the spoils of victory; but his ability, even in that moment of dispersion and under the flush of success, to meet and conquer a hostile reinforcement, evinces a judgment and resource not often equalled in partisan warfare.

In fact, it would be the height of injustice not to recognise, in this battle, the marks of the master mind of the leader, which makes good officers and good soldiers out of any materials, and infuses its own spirit into all that surround it. This brilliant exploit was the work of Stark, from its inception to its achievement. His popular name called the militia together. His resolute will obtained him a separate commission,—at the expense, it is true, of a wise political principle,—but on the present occasion, with the happiest effect. His firmness prevented him from being overruled by the influence of General Lincoln, which would have led him, with his troops, across the Hudson. How few are the men, who in such a crisis would not merely not have sought, but actually have repudiated, a junction with the main army! How few, who would not only have desired, but actually insisted on taking the responsibility of separate action! Having chosen the burden of acting alone, he acquitted himself in the discharge of his duty, with the spirit and vigor of a man, conscious of ability proportioned to the crisis. He advanced against the enemy with promptitude; sent forward a small force to reconnoitre and measure his strength; chose his ground deliberately and with skill; planned and fought the battle with gallantry and success. Pointing out the enemy to his soldiers, he declared to them, that “he would gain the victory over them in the approaching battle, or Molly Stark should be a widow that night.” And this victory was gained by the simple force of judicious dispositions of his men, bravely executed.

The consequences of this battle were of great importance. It animated the hearts of the people, more than fulfilling, in this respect, the happy prediction of Washington. But its immediate effects were of the first

moment. It not only cost the army of Burgoyne more than one thousand of his best troops, but it wholly deranged the plan of his campaign, and materially contributed to the loss of his army. By advancing beyond Ticonderoga, his communication with the country in his rear was interrupted. He relied on these lateral excursions to keep the population in alarm and to prevent their flocking to Gates. He also depended on procuring his supplies by such inroads into the country. The catastrophe of Baum's expedition, by which he hoped to furnish himself with an ample store of provisions collected at Bennington, disappointed that expectation, and compelled him to halt, till he could procure them in detail from other quarters, and thus retarded his advance toward Albany for a month, during all which time the militia poured to the standard of General Gates, and placed him in a condition, to compel the surrender of the British army. In the Memoir of Baron Riedesel's expedition, written by the Baroness, it is stated that this judicious officer strongly remonstrated against despatching Baum, and the event of the expedition is declared "to have paralyzed at once the operations of the British army."

General Stark, on the achievement of his victory, communicated the intelligence of it to General Gates, by a letter bearing date three days after the battle. He also transmitted official information of it to the State authorities of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Vermont, whose troops were engaged with him in the contest. To each of these three States he sent trophies of the battle,—brazen drums, muskets, and swords taken from the field.

The following is a copy of General Stark's letter, accompanying the trophies sent by him to the Assembly of Massachusetts, and copied from the original in the public archives at Boston.

"Bennington, September 15th, 1777.

"General Stark begs leave to present to the State of the Massachusetts Bay, and pray their acceptance of the



same, one Hessian gun and bayonet, one broadsword, one brass-barrelled drum, and one grenadier's cap, taken from the enemy, in the memorable battle, fought at Wallomsac, on the 16th of August last; and requests that the same may be kept in commemoration of that glorious victory, obtained over the enemy that day, by the united troops of that State, those of New Hampshire, and Vermont, which victory ought to be kept in memory, and handed down to futurity, as a lasting and laudable example for the sons and daughters of the victors, in order never to suffer themselves to become the prey of those mercenary tyrants and British sycophants, who are daily endeavoring to ruin and destroy us."

The General Court of Massachusetts was not in session on the receipt of this letter, and did not meet till the next December. On the 12th of that month, the following letter was addressed to General Stark, in behalf of the Assembly.

"Boston, 12th of December, 1777.

"SIR,

"The General Assembly of this State take the earliest opportunity, to acknowledge the receipt of your acceptable present,—the tokens of victory at the memorable battle of Bennington.

"The events of that day strongly mark the bravery of the men, who, unskilled in war, forced from their intrenchments a chosen number of veteran troops, of boasted Britons; as well as the address and valor of the General, who directed their movements and led them on to conquest. This signal exploit opened the way to a rapid succession of advantages most important to America.

"These trophies shall be safely deposited in the archives of the State and there remind posterity of the irresistible power of the God of armies, and the honors due to the memory of the brave.

"Still attended with like successes, may you long enjoy the just rewards of a grateful country."

Together with this letter the following resolution was adopted.

“Resolved unanimously, that the Board of War of this State be and they hereby are directed, in the name of this Court, to present to the honorable Brigadier-General Stark a complete suit of clothes becoming his rank, together with a piece of linen; as a testimony of the high sense this Court have of the great and important services rendered by that officer.”

The interesting trophies of the battle sent to Massachusetts are still preserved on the walls of her Senate-chamber, opposite to the chair of the President of that body.\* But perhaps the most characteristic incident in the whole transaction, was the neglect of Stark to inform Congress of his victory. Slighted, as he thought himself by that body, by the promotion of officers younger than himself, he had quitted the Continental service in disgust. While yet smarting under the recent sense of injury, he had sought the noblest revenge, that of redoubled exertions in the cause of his country; and having fulfilled this purpose to the utmost of the demands, either of ambition or patriotism, he disdained to make his success the instrument of a triumphant accommodation. He gained his victory two days before Congress had passed their resolution, censuring his assumption of a separate command. As his letters on the subject of his rank had lain on the table of Congress unanswered, he forbore to write to them, even to communicate the tidings of his triumph. Congress, however, wisely chose to take themselves the first step towards a reconciliation, and, on the 4th of October, passed the following resolution; “That the thanks of Congress be presented to General Stark of the New Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon and victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington; and that Brigadier Stark be appointed a Brigadier-General in the armies of the United States.”

\* We beg leave respectfully to suggest, that the name of John Stark, with the date of the battle of Bennington, be placed beneath them.

On the last clause of the resolution the ayes and nays were called, and one vote was given in the negative.\*

Several anecdotes of this affair have been recorded, and the following deserves a repetition. Among the reenforcements from Berkshire county, came a clergyman, with a portion of his flock, resolved to make bare the arm of flesh against the enemies of the country. Before daylight on the morning of the 16th, he addressed the commander as follows. "We the people of Berkshire have been frequently called upon to fight, but have never been led against the enemy. We have now resolved, if you will not let us fight, never, to turn out again." General Stark asked him, "if he wished to march then, when it was dark and rainy." "No," was the answer. "Then," continued Stark, "if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come again." The weather cleared up, in the course of the day, and the men of Berkshire followed their spiritual guide into action.†

We ought not wholly to dismiss this account of the battle of Bennington, without observing, that General Stark, in persisting in his refusal to march his troops from Vermont, to the army under General Schuyler, agreeably to the orders sent to that effect by General Lincoln, was not actuated merely by personal feelings, or a selfish purpose to maintain his separate command. He disapproved, on the soundest military principles, of Schuyler's plan of the campaign, which was to concentrate all the troops which he could collect in front, and leave Burgoyne's rear undisturbed. Stark, on the contrary, saw, that nothing would more effectually weaken him, than to hang on his rear, and compel him to make strong detachments for observation and security. General Washington concurred in this view of the subject. Stark, however, had, on the 13th of August, and before the resolution of Congress censuring his

\* Judge Chase of Maryland.

† This is believed to have been the Rev. Mr. Allen of Pittsfield.

conduct had passed, communicated his willingness to General Schuyler to cooperate with him in the impending crisis, without any regard to his personal griefs, and in any way, in which the public welfare might require it.

This most important affair, however, was but an incidental circumstance in the campaign. A general call had gone out to New England, in consequence of the disastrous downfall of Ticonderoga. General Stark remained nearly a month at Bennington, after the battle, and received a reenforcement of one thousand of the militia; but, as his former troops had enlisted for a short period, their term of service had nearly expired. General Stark finally proceeded to head-quarters, and entered the army of General Gates, at Behmus's Heights. But on the 18th of September, the period for which most of his men were drafted, had expired, Gates was desirous to retain them, as he was in daily expectation of a battle. They were drawn up and harangued by him and by their own general, Stark, but without effect. They had been raised *en masse*, and had left their homes greatly to their own inconvenience, and their time had expired. They had expressly stipulated that they should know no commander but Stark, as he had stipulated that he should not be placed under the Continental officers. He was now willing to waive this scruple, but they were not. Finally, General Gates was already so strong, that it was not easy to make out a case of very urgent necessity. With all these excuses, it is not very surprising, that the militia insisted upon being marched home, and that all efforts to detain them were unavailing.

Scarcely had they started, when the action of the 19th was commenced. At the sound of the artillery, many turned, and would have gone back to the army. But as the firing ceased, they resumed their homeward march. General Stark, holding no commission in the Continental army, and left without soldiers, returned, to make report of his campaign to the Council of New Hampshire. Wherever he went, he received demonstrations of the popular gratitude; and Congress soon honored him with

their thanks, and the rank in the army, of which he had thought himself, in the spring, injuriously deprived.

He now addressed himself, with new zeal and efficiency, to the public service. His victory at Bennington had added great influence to his name, and breathed hope and courage into the people. The militia were now ready to rise in all quarters, and pour into General Gates's army, in the undoubting confidence of the speedy destruction of Burgoyne. General Stark was soon enabled to take the field, with a more numerous force than he had commanded before. Acting upon his former policy, he placed his army in the rear of the enemy, and wholly cut off their communications with Lake George and Canada. No circumstance contributed more to accelerate the fall of Burgoyne, as it baffled him in his attempted retreat, after the battle of the 4th of October. In fact, it nearly completed the circle in which Burgoyne was enclosed; and General Stark was of opinion, that he might have been compelled to surrender at discretion. The state of his army, as disclosed after its capitulation, puts this beyond doubt; but as all the substantial objects of such a surrender were attained by the capitulation, without the hazard of driving the enemy to despair, it was adopted as the safer course.

The war in this quarter being brought to a triumphant close, and General Stark reinstated in the Continental service, he repaired to New Hampshire for recruits and supplies. In a short time, his services were required by Congress on a proposed expedition, of which the history is wrapped in some obscurity. Congress, without consulting General Washington, conceived the plan of another expedition to Canada, to be commenced, like the former, in mid winter. Without any previous information, that such an expedition was intended, General Washington received a letter from the President of the Board of War, of the 24th of January, 1778, enclosing one of the same date to General Lafayette, requiring the immediate attendance of the latter on Congress, to receive his instructions, as commander-in-chief of the expedition. Generals Conway and Stark were to have

been the second and third in command. Lafayette, after receiving his instructions, repaired to Albany, and there General Stark was directed to meet him. On their arrival, it became manifest that no preparations had been made for pursuing the project, and it was accordingly abandoned.

The command in the Northern department was intrusted to General Stark in the spring of 1778. The number of troops at his disposal was small, and he was obliged to protect with them an extensive and important frontier. His station at Albany imposed on him the unpleasant duty of watching the disaffected, the spies, and the adventurers of all descriptions, that were preying on the public, in this important district. He was glad to escape from the annoyances resulting from his position, and willingly received an order to join General Gates in Rhode Island. Here he was posted at East Greenwich, where the militia were chiefly stationed, a post for which he was eminently qualified, by his popularity with that branch of the army. At the close of the campaign, he returned through Boston to New Hampshire, to enforce, by his presence and urgency, the call for recruits and supplies.

In the spring of 1779, he returned to the army in Rhode Island, and by direction of General Gates instituted a *reconnaissance* of the coast, from Mount Hope on the east, to Point Judith on the west. The military force in this district was small, and more than ordinary vigilance was required to keep up a proper observation of the enemy. Indications of a movement being perceived in the autumn, he removed his head-quarters from Providence to Point Judith, but rarely slept more than a single night in a place.

Late in October, the enemy were in motion, and the men of General Stark's command were for some days on constant duty. On the 10th of November, they decamped from Rhode Island, and early the next morning General Stark took possession of Newport, to protect the inhabitants of that place from plunder, and the other consequences of a change in the military occupa-

tion of the town. Shortly afterwards, Generals Gates and Stark, with all their troops, excepting a small garrison, were ordered to reenforce General Washington, in New Jersey. In the month of December, the main army was thrown into two divisions for the winter, the Northern and the Southern;—the former of which was placed under General Heath, whose head-quarters were at West Point, and the latter under General Washington himself, whose head-quarters were fixed at Morristown in New Jersey.

General Stark was employed by the commander-in-chief, while the troops remained in winter-quarters, on his accustomed errand to New England for recruits and supplies. In May, 1780, he rejoined the army at Morristown. He was present at the battle of Springfield, in New Jersey, which occurred shortly after his return. At this period, Count Rochambeau, with his fleet, appeared on the coast. Stark was sent into New England to collect, if possible, a body of militia and volunteers, to reenforce the army at West Point. This object he effected with his usual energy, and reached West Point, while General Washington was absent at Hartford, whither he had repaired to hold a conference with Count Rochambeau, as to the combined operations of their forces. This was shortly before the defection of Arnold. Having delivered up his reinforcements, General Stark rejoined his division in New Jersey; but, in the month of September, he was ordered with his brigade to relieve General St. Clair, who had occupied West Point with the troops of the Pennsylvania line, after Arnold's flight.

While at West Point, it became his painful duty to act on the court martial, by which Major André was condemned as a spy. He felt the hardship of the case, but joined his brother officers, in the unanimous opinion, that the life of this unfortunate officer was forfeited by the laws of war, and that the interests of the country required that the forfeit should be paid.

About this time, General Washington, having formed a project to surprise Staten Island, with a view to mask-

ing his intentions, ordered General Stark, with a detachment of twenty-five hundred men and a heavy train of wagons, to advance as near as possible to York Island, bring off all the corn and forage that could be collected, and hover about the approaches to the city, till they should be ordered back. The British appear to have suspected some concealed design, for they suffered this detachment to range the country up to Morrisania and Kingsbridge, and then quietly to return with their booty. Having received a despatch from General Washington, brought by Colonel Humphreys across the ferry at Paulus Hook, on a stormy night, informing them, that the expedition against Staten Island was abandoned, General Stark drew off his forces and returned to head-quarters. Shortly after this period, the army went into winter-quarters at West Point, New Windsor, and Fishkill.

During the summer of 1780, General Stark joined his brother officers in one of those touching and powerful appeals to Congress, on the distressed state of the army, with which the annals of the revolution abound. The arrival of the French auxiliary forces brought home to the minds of the American soldiery, officers and men, a painful contrast of condition. The French troops were liberally paid in specie, the American troops received a compensation, at best inadequate, in paper which was worthless. The officers were almost without exception of a class of men, dependent on their industry and exertions in their various callings and pursuits, for the support of themselves and their families. While they were withdrawn from home, their professions, their farms, and pecuniary affairs necessarily went to decay, and their families were straitened. Their appointment as officers frequently yielded them not even the decent comforts of life for themselves at the camp. Men, "whose tables once abounded with plenty and vanity," were, in consequence of devoting themselves to the service of the country, compelled "to subsist, month after month, upon barely one ration of dry bread and meat, and that frequently of the meanest quality, their families looking



to them in vain for their usual support, and their children for that education, to which they once had a title."

These painful expostulations produced for the present no beneficial effect. The difficulty was, perhaps, less than is generally supposed in the real poverty of the country, though it would be paradoxical to deny, that the country was poor. But the soil was as fertile then as now. The number of persons withdrawn from the peaceful and productive pursuits of life, and engaged in the military service of the country, was not large enough either by the loss of their labor or the burden of their support, to make three millions of people poor. The regular foreign trade of the country was destroyed; but it had never yet been the great interest which it has since become, and its place was partly supplied by privateering, which was probably carried on much to the advantage of the United States. The subsistence of the enemy's armies was eventually a great branch of business, profitable to the country, although the circulation of the capitals employed in it, was of course impeded by political causes. All these considerations show sufficiently, that the extreme public poverty, which forms so prominent and painful a topic in the state-papers of the revolution, was a poverty not of the people but of the government. The government had no power. The property belonged to the people, and the government could not act on the people. Its only action was on the States, and the States, in a mere financial view, were metaphysical existences. They had no money, and were subject to no process. The bitterness of the experience, which our fathers had of the evils of such a system, explains their readiness, high-toned as they were on the subject of taxation, to clothe the new government, formed by the federal constitution, with a direct control, under constitutional limits, over the property of the citizen.

Failing in their application to Congress, some of the general officers from New England addressed a memorial to their several States, at the close of the year 1780. It is a powerful and interesting document. The name

of General Greene stands at the head of the signers, and that of General Stark is among the number. This able document, like that last mentioned, may be found in the Appendix to the interesting Memoir of General Stark, to which we have so often had occasion to refer.

The health of General Stark was seriously impaired at the close of this campaign. He was now beyond the meridian of a life, almost the whole of which had been a scene of hardship. One of the pioneers of civilization on a savage frontier, a hunter, a clearer of the soil, a ranger through the Seven Years' War, and already for five years engaged in that of the Revolution, it is not to be wondered at, that he found his constitution, strong as it was, not insensible to the trials, to which he subjected it. He thought seriously, at the close of the campaign of 1780, of retiring from the service, and endeavoring to restore his health, in the cultivation of his farm. He communicated his feelings to General Sullivan, with his views of the provision which Congress was bound to make for officers who retired disabled from the service. On the advice of General Sullivan, he went no further than to ask a furlough for the winter. This was readily accorded to him. Relaxation from the pressure of active duty accomplished the only object he had in view in retiring; and he was prepared, on the return of spring, to resume his post, with recruited health, and new ardor in the public service.

In the month of June, 1781, General Stark was designated by the commander-in-chief to command the Northern department. His head-quarters were fixed at Saratoga. The force at his control for the protection of the frontier was but inconsiderable, consisting of small detachments from the militia of New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. The post was by no means an enviable one. The country was, in this part of it, overrun by spies and traitors. Robberies were of frequent occurrence, and unarmed citizens were sometimes surprised in their houses, and carried prisoners into Canada. General Schuyler's house was robbed, and two of his servants were carried into Canada. The

General saved himself by retreating to his chamber, barricading his door, and firing upon the marauders. The militia of Albany were roused by the noise, but the plunderers escaped.

Shortly after General Stark established his headquarters at Saratoga, a party of these brigands was discovered within the lines, unarmed, and a British commission was found upon their commander, Thomas Lovelace, a refugee from the States. He was brought before a court-martial, was tried, and condemned as a spy, and the sentence was carried into effect the following day. This individual having family connexions in the neighborhood, a remonstrance was addressed by them to the commander-in-chief, and threats were circulated of procuring retaliation to be made. General Washington directed a copy of the proceedings to be sent to him; but no further notice was taken of the affair.

Another of the party, on a promise of pardon, gave information that they belonged to a band of fifteen, who had come from Canada, as plunderers and spies, and scattered themselves through the country, to ascertain the state of affairs, and collect intelligence for the British general commanding in Canada, who meditated an incursion into New York. He stated, that they had left their boats on the shores of Lake George. A lieutenant was despatched, with a sufficient force, and with the prisoner as a guide, and ordered to wait five days, and surprise the party on their return to their boats. This officer found the boats, but, after having waited one day, the prisoner escaped. Fearful for his safety, the officer disobeyed the orders which he had received, to wait five days, and immediately returned. It was afterwards ascertained, that the party returned in two days, and might all have been surprised.

General Stark was at his post at Saratoga, when the army of Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. Writing to General Schuyler, a few weeks before that event, he expresses a confident assurance, that it would take place, and his regret at not sharing in the glory of the triumph, which he foretold for his country's arms. After this

memorable event, which brought the war to a virtual close, and removed all danger of an inroad upon the Canada frontier, General Stark dismissed the militia to their homes, with his thanks for their good conduct; and, having taken measures for the security of the public property, was directed himself to repair to New England by the way of Albany, and to exert himself during the winter in raising men and supplies for the ensuing campaign. He did not, however, himself take the field in 1782. The season passed away without active military operations; negotiations for peace were known to be on foot, and were brought to a provisional close, in the autumn of that year. These considerations, with the state of his health, greatly impaired by attacks of rheumatism, prevented his joining the army till ordered to do so by General Washington, in April, 1783. He reported himself at head-quarters on the day appointed, and received the thanks of General Washington for his punctuality. He exerted his best influence, with that of his brother officers, to allay the discontent which existed in the minds of the army, and which was studiously fomented by the famous Newburg Letters. He had, at a former period, been, on his own account, dissatisfied with the policy pursued by Congress; and some of his letters manifest the persuasion, on his part, that the interests of the army were not cordially promoted by that body. But his distrust was overcome by the progress of events. Congress had exerted itself to the utmost, to meet the reasonable wishes of officers and men, and Stark was particularly solicitous, that the close of the glorious drama should be sullied by no discreditable or unpatriotic act on the part of his associates.

When the army was finally disbanded, he retired to private life, carrying with him an honored name. He devoted himself, for the residue of his days, to the care of his farm, and the various duties, which devolved upon him, as the head of a numerous family. Leading the life of a real Cincinnatus, he declined associating himself with the Society, formed by the officers of the

newly disbanded army, under that name. He shared the apprehensions, which prevailed so widely, of the dangerous tendency of that institution; and he had something severe and primitive in his taste, which disinclined him from its organization.

From the close of the revolutionary war, no incident of public importance marks the life of General Stark. He gradually descended the vale of years, an object of respect due to age, patriotism, integrity, and public service of the most brilliant cast, in trying times. His life was prolonged, beyond any expectation which could reasonably be formed of one, whose early years were one unbroken series of hardship and exposure. He attained the unusual age of ninety-four. For many years before his death, he had become, in the best sense of the word, a privileged character. One of the few surviving officers of the revolution, he was regarded as the personification of its spirit, in the neighborhood in which he lived. He was visited by strangers; and the most eminent men in the country took a pride in paying him the homage of their respects. The Memoir of his Life contains letters of Messrs. Jefferson and Madison, expressive of the interest taken by these distinguished statesmen in this venerable hero, and their willingness to encourage an attachment on his part towards themselves.

The war of 1812 came upon General Stark at a period of advanced age, when it was, of course, impossible for him to engage for a third time in the public service; but he watched its progress with interest. He was informed that the field-pieces, which he had taken at Bennington, were surrendered to the enemy at Detroit, when the army of General Hull capitulated at that place. The history of these cannon is somewhat singular. They were of French fabric, and, being found at Quebec, were brought by General Burgoyne from Canada, and formed the field artillery of Colonel Baum. Having been taken by General Stark at Bennington, they were inscribed with the date of the battle, August 16th, 1777. On the capitulation of Hull, they fell into the hands of the British, by whom they were transported to Fort

George, at the mouth of the Niagara. On the fall of that fortress, they passed again into the possession of the Americans, and were sent by Major-General Dearborn to Sacket's Harbor, where they were used in firing a salute, on occasion of General Harrison's victory over General Proctor, in the battle of the Thames. They are now said to be at Washington. When Stark heard, that "his guns," as he called them, were taken at Detroit, he expressed great feeling, and regretted that his age and infirmities prevented his taking the field himself.

In the year 1809, an invitation was sent to General Stark, by the inhabitants of Bennington and its vicinity, to join them in the celebration of the anniversary of the battle. More than sixty of those, who had been engaged in the action, attended the meeting, at which the arrangements for the celebration were made. But he was then eighty-one years of age, and the state of his health prevented his accepting the invitation. The committee, in requesting his attendance, expressed the wish, that "the young men of Bennington might have the pleasure of seeing the man, who so gallantly fought to defend their sacred rights, their fathers and mothers, and protected them while lisping in infancy." In reply to this portion of the letter of invitation, the aged hero observed, "You say you wish your young men to see me; but you who have seen me, can tell them, that I was never worth much for a show; and certainly cannot be worth their seeing now."

At length, on the 8th of May, 1822, his long and eventful life was brought to a close, at the age of ninety-four. With the exception of Sumpter, he was the last of the American generals of the revolution. His funeral was attended with military honors, by a large concourse of people, at the place of his residence, in Manchester on the Merrimac river. His remains were deposited in a tomb, which, within a few years, had been erected at his request, upon a rising ground on the second bank of the river, and visible at a distance of four or five miles, up and down the Merrimac. On the 4th of July, 1829, a monument was erected by his family upon this spot. It

consists of a block of granite in the form of an obelisk, with the simple inscription, "MAJOR-GENERAL STARK." In person, General Stark was of about the medium size, and well proportioned. In his early years he was remarkable for his strength, activity, and ability to bear fatigue. He was seasoned in his youth to the hunter's and woodman's life. In the French war, a single bear-skin and a roll of snow were not uncommonly the ranger's bed. He was remarkable through life for his kindness and hospitality, particularly to his reduced companions in arms. It is justly mentioned as an extraordinary circumstance in his life, that frequently as he was engaged in battle in two long wars, he never received a wound.

The Memoir, to which we have been so largely indebted, closes with the following sentences:—"His character in his private was as unexceptionable as in his public life. His manners were frank and open; though tinged with an eccentricity peculiar to himself and useful to society. He sustained through life the reputation of a man of honor and integrity, friendly to the industrious and enterprising, —severe to the idle and unworthy. Society may venerate the memory of an honest citizen, and the nation that of a hero, whose eulogy is in the remembrance of his countrymen."





**LIFE**  
**OF**  
**DAVID BRAINERD,**  
**MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS;**  
**BY**  
**WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY.**



## P R E F A C E.

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**THE** materials for the following memoir have been chiefly collected from a volume published the year before Brainerd's death, entitled, "The Rise and Progress of a remarkable Work of Grace amongst a Number of Indians in the Provinces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, justly represented in a Journal kept by Order of the Honorable Society, in Scotland, for Propagating Christian Knowledge;" from Jonathan Edwards's "Account of the Life of David Brainerd;" and from a Sermon preached by Edwards on the day of his funeral. Brainerd's "Journal" contains a record of his labors and success among the Indians, and illustrates the peculiar difficulties of the enterprise, and the fervor and energy by which they were overcome. In an Appendix to it are also many interesting particulars respecting the habits, customs, and opinions of the Indians, the method of instructing them, and the obstacles to be encountered in converting them to Christianity.



# DAVID BRAINERD.

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## CHAPTER I.

*The peculiar Character of Brainerd.—His Parentage.—Circumstances in his Childhood.—His early Religious Impressions.—His Preparation for College.—His Conversion.—The prevailing Religious Excitement.—His Expulsion.—His Preparation for the Ministry.—His Appointment as a Missionary to the Indians.*

THERE are few among those distinguished by their self-devotion to religion, whose names have been more honored than that of the missionary Brainerd; but, in general, little is known respecting his personal history, and his fame is rather traditional, than founded upon a knowledge of the trials which he underwent, and the difficulties he encountered. There have been those whose zeal was as pure and high, and whose success was greater; but in some respects his history was peculiar, owing to his peculiar temperament, which obliged him to encounter enemies within as well as without, and to contend with doubts and fears in his own mind while he was endeavoring to influence the minds of others in favor of the Gospel. A great proportion of those, who have preached the Gospel to the heathen, have been impelled by a strong and daring spirit, such as would find its native element in difficulties and dangers; and they have gone forth exulting to fight the battles of the Cross. But in him we find no such self-sustaining power; his spirit was naturally gentle, and he put his hand to the work, not because he was at home in such a

warfare, not because it suited his taste and character, but simply because he believed it to be his duty; and, having this conviction, he made a daily sacrifice, giving up his tastes and inclinations, his home and his friends, his comforts, and at last his life, as so many offerings upon the altar.

DAVID BRAINERD was born at Haddam, in the State of Connecticut, April 20th, 1718. His parents were very respectable in point of condition and character, his father being an Assistant or member of the Council, an office of considerable distinction. His mother was the daughter of a clergyman who came with his father, a member of the same profession, from England to America, in the days of persecution, and always retained, and probably transmitted to his children, that energetic, daring, and devoted character, which such days are calculated to form. When such elements of character, no longer called into constant action by the exasperating influences of oppression, are softened down in the milder atmosphere of domestic life, they commonly afford the best examples of religious excellence, uniting patient mildness with lofty decision, and strong love for the human race with profound indifference to the frowns and flatteries of men. It is not surprising, that the mind of Brainerd, educated thus by parents with whom religion was a matter of feeling, not of form, should have been early turned with deep interest to that subject; and here, no doubt, we are to look for the beginnings of that conscientiousness and surrender of self to duty, which made him afterwards so eminent as a laborious, self-denying, and effective preacher of the Gospel.

It was well for Brainerd that his heart was open to religious influences in his early years, for he was not long permitted to enjoy the care of his parents and the blessing of home. His father died when he was nine years of age, and four years afterward his mother followed him to the grave, leaving desolate a family of five sons and four daughters. The sons, however, three of whom were older than the subject of this memoir, became useful and respected members of society; and the fifth son, John,

lived to be a missionary to the Indians. After the death of David, he became pastor of the Indian church in New Jersey; thus entering upon the very scene of his brother's labors. It was an early age at which Brainerd lost the natural guardians of his childhood; but they had done their work faithfully, and the religious impressions they had made upon the tender minds of their children were strengthened, not effaced, by the lapse of years. Perhaps we do wrong to use the word impressions; for, an impression, being made by external agency, must, from its nature, pass away soon after that agency is withdrawn; the soul will not retain it. But when religious principles are given, as they evidently were in this instance, they gain strength instead of growing weaker. Impressions are like branches which children break off from trees and set in their little gardens, where they look beautiful for a day; but principles are the shoots which grow from good seed sown in the heart. While impressions are dying daily, principles strike deeper roots and send out stronger boughs, till they become too firm for the elements to overthrow.

If Brainerd's parents had been longer spared to him, they could not have added any thing to his religious sensibility; for, even at that early age, his conscience was quick and delicate, and his sense of obligation firm and high; he made it his diligent study to ascertain his duty, and was resolute in acting according to his deep convictions. But perhaps his parents might have taught him to regulate his zeal, by showing him that he was bound to think of himself as well as others, and in that way might have prevented the sacrifice of his life to his labors; for no one can read his life without being aware, that his disease and death were owing to his entire want of concern for himself, and his constant and fearless exposure. His feelings, too, were of a kind which needed the sympathy of judicious friends. Being naturally reserved and retiring, he was driven too much upon himself, and, for want of communication with the world, spent too much of his time in watching the changes of his own emotions. A friend, like a parent who understood his character, might

have aided him to discipline his mind, so as to make it happier in itself, while it was equally serviceable to mankind. But it should be remembered to his honor, that, while this peculiar sensibility, and a tinge of romance which ran through his character, inclined him strongly to solitude and thoughtfulness rather than society and action, he renounced his own tastes and inclinations, governed himself by his duty, not by his choice, threw himself among associates who were no better than desolation, and lived, from first to last, not for himself, but for others, and for his duty. In any man, such a sacrifice would have been great; but to him it was greater than it could have been to most other men.

We know from his own account, that serious thoughts were familiar to him at a very early age. He was not more than seven or eight years old when he began to be uneasy at the thought of dying, and forsook the common enjoyments of childhood, devoting much of his time to meditation and prayer. But this concern for his religious improvement, not being sustained by sympathy with others, gradually lessened, though it was not entirely lost. Some years afterwards, a severe sickness prevailed in his native place, and his mind was powerfully affected by the gloom and apprehension which it occasioned in the little community; he says, that he read and prayed much and was remarkably "dead to the world." His mother's death, in 1732, which left him one of a large family of orphans, drove him to a nearer dependence upon the Father of the fatherless, to whom alone he could look as the support and guardian of those helpless years. But the same circumstances, which made him thus serious in his feeling, tended to give a gloomy cast to his devotions, an unfortunate result in any condition, and particularly so in the duty to which he gave his life; in which a cheerful piety and animating views of existence are essential to keep the health of the soul, and to save it from that dependence into which one so situated is apt to fall.

The religious sentiments in which Brainerd was educated, were those expressed in the Assembly's Catechism, and these he continued through all his life to



profess, and to hold in sacred regard. Not that he was in any sense a party man; he more than once laments the excesses of religious zeal to which he had himself been led, saying that he was full of anguish and shame for having spent so much of his time in conversation which tended only to strengthen in him the spirit of party.

Shortly after the death of his mother, he removed from his father's house to East Haddam, where he spent four years. He was not at all inclined to the amusements which commonly attract the young; and, if ever he did engage in any sport, the recollection of it troubled his conscience, as if it were no better than a sin. Without well understanding what his duty was, he was very anxious to discharge it aright; and, for the want of some friendly guidance, his conscience not only disquieted him sometimes with needless accusations, but failed to enlighten him as to his real duty. He was a singular example of a boy inclined to melancholy, entirely indifferent to youthful pleasure, surpassing anchorites in self-denial and devotion, and yet upbraiding himself perpetually with his want of concern for the welfare of his soul. A judicious friend might have taught him to improve these beginnings of thoughtfulness, and to make them the foundations of a character earnest, affectionate, and enlightened. But he kept his feelings to himself; and the wonder is that his character, growing entirely in the shade, should ever have become so strong and manly as it proved itself in later years.

At this period of his life he had no idea of a liberal education. He expected to spend his life in the labors of a farm. But when he was nineteen years of age, he became very desirous to prepare himself for the clerical profession, and began to study for that purpose in the intervals of his labor. All this time he was attentive to his daily employment, zealous in improving every leisure hour, and in the midst of his active and intellectual pursuits he found time to examine his heart, keeping strict watch upon his actions, thoughts, and words. Still he felt as if his time was wasted, and reproached himself

continually with his want of heart in the service of his God.

In the following year, 1738, at the age of twenty, he went to reside with Mr. Fiske, the minister of his native town. Perceiving that Brainerd's tastes were uncommonly mature, he advised him to withdraw from the companionship of the young, with whom he had no common feeling, and to associate with those more advanced in years, whose feelings were similar to his own. He took this advice, and in consequence of it became less oppressed with a sense of his own unworthiness than he was before. He studied the Bible diligently every day, and spent much of his time in secret prayer. Overcoming his reserve in a measure, he persuaded others to meet with him on Sabbath evenings, to engage in acts of devotion. But still there was something wanting. He felt as if he had only become conscious of his need of religious excellence, without having discovered the way in which the want might be supplied.

It would not be easy to find a description more full of misery, than his account of the darkness which soon after settled upon his soul. As he walked in the fields, he envied the beasts and birds their happiness, since they could enjoy the blessing of existence without being tortured, as he was, with the prospect of an endless doom. It seemed as if mountains were rising up before him in the way to heaven; the day brought no light, and the night no rest, to his soul. When he walked abroad, it seemed as if the earth would burst asunder and let him down to the abodes of wo. Sometimes he would retire to bed, that his agitation might not be seen by others, and there lie restless, "thinking it would be a great wonder if his soul should be out of hell in the morning." Doubts grew out of his fears; he began to detest the very name of Christianity; still his agony was not abated. For several months, he continued in this deplorable state, passing through all the changes of anxiety and hope, till his mind settled down at last in the sullen calmness of despair. His description of his suffering is painfully minute, and, like that of Cowper, it is

drawn with a powerful hand, and forces upon the reader the feeling, "Oh, that way, madness lies!"

Happily, a better day succeeded. As he was walking in his favorite retreat, profoundly indifferent to the loveliness of nature, and weighed down with the feeling that he was for ever lost, he entered into a thick grove, which was not penetrated by the light of the declining sun. All at once an unspeakable glory seemed to open upon his soul, affecting him like a flood of light, though he saw no external brightness, and filling him at once with admiration and delight. It was a new apprehension of God, such as never dawned upon his soul before. He continued in this state of rapture, unconscious of the passing hours, till night, and for some time after he felt as if he was in a new world; the aspect of every thing was changed. This was a happy relief to his troubled spirit; he trusted that his visitations of distress would afflict him no more. It does not appear that it was so. Soon afterward his agitation returned, but it did not last; and, in some other instances, his torture was of shorter duration than before. From this time he dated his conversion; his spirit was evidently lighter and happier, but melancholy made a part of his nature, and, in all his subsequent life, a moment of sunshine was followed by an hour of shade. Still, whatever the changes of his feeling may have been, no one could doubt the truth and purity of his religious devotion.

In 1739, he entered Yale College; and in the succeeding year he devoted himself to his studies with so much ardor as to impair his health. Though he felt as if this ambition was a sin, he could not quite resist it. In the summer, he began to raise blood from his lungs, and was soon so much reduced, that his tutor advised him to go home and give up his application, as the only means of saving his life. For some weeks, he had no expectation of recovering; but he assures us, that, so far from repining at the thought, he was resigned and happy, insomuch that, when he was able to return to college in the autumn, he regretted being compelled to face the world and its temptations again.

It was at this time that Whitefield made his appearance in New England. His reputation had preceded him from Europe, and he was earnestly invited to visit the eastern States. Many of the clergy and others in New England had become dissatisfied with the low state of religious feeling, and had been making efforts, with various degrees of success, to revive the religious affections of the people. Whitefield was the very man they wanted to aid them in their exertions; and, when he came among them, throwing off all the stiffness of the clerical manner, and speaking in natural and familiar language to the hearts of the people, his eloquence, aided by the advantages of a graceful person and an admirable voice, gave an electric start to the whole community. His progress resembled a triumphant march; wherever he went, he kindled fires and left them burning; his followers were noted for their zeal and fervor, and also for the contempt with which they regarded all those whose feelings were less excited than their own. While this fervor was spreading itself throughout the land, it could not be, that a spirit like Brainerd's should remain unkindled in the general flame. None of the officers of the college seem to have encouraged it; but the students associated themselves together, and became perhaps more zealous in consequence of the resistance of the higher powers. We are assured by President Edwards, that "an intemperate, imprudent zeal, and a degree of enthusiasm, crept in and mingled itself with that revival of religion; and, so great and general an awakening being a new thing to the inhabitants of the land, neither people nor ministers had learned thoroughly to distinguish between solid religion and its delusive counterfeits; even many ministers of the Gospel, of long standing and the best reputation, were, for a time, overpowered with the glaring appearances of the latter." Such being the case, it was natural that Brainerd should be carried away with the sudden rush of public feeling; accordingly we are assured by the same authority, that "he had the unhappiness to have a tincture of that intemperate, indiscreet zeal, which was at

that time too prevalent." Of this he was afterwards sensible. He had kept a journal of his feelings during that memorable year, in which he recorded all his passing emotions; but, when he was on his death-bed, knowing that such records of his religious life would be sought for, he separated it from the rest of his Diary, and caused it to be destroyed, expressing a wish that those who desired to know his manner of life, might form their judgment from passages in which "imprudences and indecent heats were less mingled with the spirit of devotion."

The results of his zeal on this occasion were unfortunate. In consequence of the jealousy of the college government and the spiritual pride of his associates, he became a victim of senseless oppression. He was made an offender for a word accidentally overheard by a Freshman in passing through the chapel after prayers. Brainerd was at that moment saying to his companions, that one of the tutors, whom he named, "had no more grace than a chair;" a phrase which that individual fully justified by his subsequent proceedings. The Freshman reported this speech to a foolish woman in the town, telling her that he believed it was said of one of the officers of the college. She went and informed the Rector, who examined the Freshman and ascertained who were present on that momentous occasion. He then sent for Brainerd's companions, and required them to give testimony against their friend, who was directed to humble himself, and to make a public confession of his sin in presence of all the officers and students of the college. He had too much spirit to submit to this stupid malice of his superiors, who imposed upon him what was only required in cases of open and notorious crime. As a punishment for this refusal and for his attachment to the new doctrine, he was at once expelled from the institution. It was a case of such evident hardship and injustice, that a council of ministers, assembled in Hartford, solicited the government of the college to restore him, but without success. This was a heavy blow to him; and we learn from his Diary, that he found it hard

to submit to the unmerited disgrace; but to the last moment of his life, he considered himself, as well he might, much abused by this arbitrary exercise of power.

It should be mentioned, however, that this act was not a specimen of the usual temper of the college government; they were at the time greatly provoked by the success of Whitefield and his followers. While the clergy of Massachusetts, particularly of Boston, gave him, to appearance at least, a hearty welcome, the clergy of Connecticut were far from rejoicing in his coming. They probably anticipated, as it afterwards happened, that wild fanatics would spring up, who would alienate the regard of the people from their ministers, and break up those principles of religious order in which the foundations of their colony were laid. This is the explanation of their exasperated proceedings, though it will not by any means excuse them. The colony passed laws against such men as Davenport and his coadjutors, and the college undertook to keep all safe within its bounds. Whoever showed a disposition to listen to them, was considered as going over to the enemy, and was treated with as little ceremony as a traitor within the walls.

The treatment which Brainerd received from the college, does not seem to have had any injurious effect upon his reputation or his prospects, however painful it may have been to his feelings. He still continued to make preparation for the sacred office, and was encouraged by the sympathy of friends, who hoped much from his energy and self-devotion. But his chief delight seemed to be to retreat from the presence of men into the depth of the forest; not that he went there to enjoy the beauty of nature, but because the dark shades of the wood, and the wind sounding through its hollow caverns, were always in harmony with the gloomy habit of his soul. He does not seem to have been conscious of this love of nature; but it is evident to every reader of his life, that he delighted in the visible world as a manifestation of the Creator; his spirit was filled with its silent loveliness, and, in this communion with the grand and beautiful, he felt as if he came nearest to his God.

Meantime his feelings were perpetually changing; sometimes he complains of being struck with a damp and chill from the sense of his own unworthiness; he felt as if he was a wretch, unworthy to live, and yet unfit to die; he was filled with wonder and shame, that any should offer kindness to one so undeserving; while at other times his feelings kindled into rapture; "sorrow endured for a night, but joy came in the morning;" the beams of the daybreak seemed to shine into his soul, and more than once he spent whole days of happiness without coming into the presence of men. Once he records, that, while gazing upon the flashes of the northern light, his mind was thus illuminated; but he never seems in the least aware of the power, which nature and its changes thus exerted upon his soul.

In the summer of 1742, at the age of twenty-five, he was examined by the association of ministers at Danbury, and received a license from them to preach the Gospel. Beside the depression of mind just mentioned, which continued with short intervals of happier feeling, his state of health made it difficult for him to engage in public labors. But he entered at once upon his duty, and was relieved to find that he had power over the hearts of his hearers. His evident sincerity alone would have made him an impressive preacher; but, in addition to this, he had talent and facility of expression. Beside, he always spoke with the solemnity of one who stood within the shadow of death. The hope of preaching the Gospel to the heathen was his chief inducement for choosing the sacred profession; and one of his earliest attempts was addressed to the Indians at Kent, upon the borders of Connecticut, where was one of those wasting communities of that ill-starred race, which have now entirely disappeared, though they were then so common in New England. Before he began, he was oppressed, not so much with the magnitude of the duty, as with a sense of his unworthiness to discharge it. He seemed to himself like an evil spirit, "worse," he says, "than any devil;" he wondered that people did not stone him, instead of listening patiently to his words. But when his audience

were assembled, and he was obliged to address them, he delivered himself with freedom and power. The hearts of the poor Indians were carried away by his fervor; they heard him with strong and evident emotion, and the sight of his success in reaching their hearts gave him an encouragement, such as he had never felt before.

In the course of his preaching he came to New Haven, where he had made friends while he was a student in the college; but, such was the exasperation of party, that he found himself in danger of arrest should he be publicly seen in the streets. He was informed by his friends, that, if he were discovered there, he would be seized and imprisoned; a fact which it would be difficult to credit, did we not know, that, in times of such excitement, any outrage will be attempted and justified by a party. It was a great disappointment to him not to be able to meet his classmates at the Commencement; but he was obliged to withdraw to the house of a friend at a distance from the town. In the evening he ventured into the place, cautiously however, believing that his enemies were on the watch for him; but he passed the day of Commencement, not in cheerful society as he intended, but in solitary prayer in his favorite retreat, the depth of the woods. His mind was so constantly turned in one direction, that, about this time, he wrote in his Diary, that he had hardly seen the day for two months, which would not have been more welcome to him, if it could have been his last; not so much because he was weary of life, as because he wished to enjoy the paradise which was continually before his soul. In the day he was dejected and troubled. Before he entered the desk to preach, his powers of body and mind seemed to fail him; but, after being warmed with his subject, he took hold of the hearts of his audience, and produced an effect which surprised him. But, when the evening came with its silence and thoughtfulness, he rejoiced that he was one day nearer to his heavenly home; firmly resolved to be faithful unto death, but yet longing for the hour when the evening of life should release him from the labors of the restless day.



In November of the year in which he was licensed, he received a communication from New York, which decided his destiny for life. The Correspondents of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge were assembled in that city, and having heard of his ability, were desirous to engage him as a missionary, to fulfil the purposes of their association. It was the very opportunity which he had long desired ; but a doubt of his own fitness, and a fear that he might stand in the place of some better man, made him shrink from it, when it was offered him. After consulting with some of his friends, he went to New York, where he was examined by the officers of the Society, and found in every respect qualified for the difficult and responsible station. But the approbation of others could not give him confidence; and, when he thought of the responsibility which he was assuming, he felt as if he must retreat from it in despair. He says, that he grew more and more sensible of his unfitness for public service; he felt as if he was deceiving his employers; "how miserably disappointed," he says, "they would be, if they knew me ! Oh, my heart ! In this depressed condition I was forced to go and preach to a considerable assembly, before some grave and learned ministers; but felt such a pressure from a sense of my vileness, ignorance, and unfitness to appear in public, that I was almost overcome with it. I thought myself infinitely indebted to the people, and longed that God would bless them with the rewards of his grace." In all this there was no affectation ; he was a man of great singleness of heart. It was a natural expression of his dark-colored feelings, and his depression at the time was increased by the noise and confusion of the city. He could not be intimate with himself in the midst of crowds, and he longed to escape once more to the quiet of the country, where he could be thoughtful and alone.

It will be observed, that all his hesitation to accept this charge arose from a distrust of his own ability. So far from being dismayed at the prospect of its difficulties, there was nothing for which he so ardently longed, as to

bear the message of salvation to that unfortunate race; though he well knew that the hardships and discouragements of the service would be formidable to the strongest heart, and that he, an invalid, gentle and sensitive by nature, would find it doubly hard to endure them. That he should have been so entirely indifferent to personal considerations, gives us the highest idea of his amiable and generous character. The Apostles themselves were not more ready to encounter hardship and privation, nor were they more ready to sacrifice all prospects of comfort, happiness, and fame. Far was he from anticipating the renown, with which his name is now surrounded. The service to which he was called was obscure and unhonored, as well as disheartening; it offered no attraction, except to those whose "witness was in heaven, whose record on high."

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## CHAPTER II.

*Act of Liberality.—Mr. Sergeant.—Sent to Kanaumeeck.—His Weakness.—His Manner of Life.—His Success in Preaching.—Visit to New Haven.—Failure to regain his Standing.—His Health unequal to his Labor.—His Charities.—Alarm of Invasion.—He studies the Indian Language.—His Removal from Kanaumeeck.—Refusal of Invitations.*

BEING thus fairly enlisted in his new service, Brainerd gave an example of disinterestedness, which some might pronounce injudicious, in his circumstances, but all must allow was an evidence of pure and generous feeling. He was fully determined to throw himself among the Indians, and to fare as they did, so long as he lived. Supposing, therefore, that he should need nothing more than his allowance as a missionary to support him, he resolved to appropriate what was left him by his father to the pur-

pose of educating some young man for the ministry, who might, perhaps, at some future time enter into his labors. He immediately made arrangements to this effect, and selected a young friend of promising talents and dispositions, whom he supported as long as he lived.

He was destined to be for a time associated with a man of similar disinterestedness, Mr. Sergeant, missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, who had left Yale College when he had high prospects of usefulness and honor, to go and attempt to civilize and enlighten that miserable people. Mr. Hollis, nephew to Thomas Hollis, the liberal friend of Harvard College, hearing of Mr. Sergeant's efforts and sacrifices, offered him an annual allowance, among some other appropriations which he was making for the benefit of the Indians; but the single-hearted missionary at once declined the offer, telling him that he could accept nothing from him but his prayers for the success of his labors.

The original design of the Commissioners, who engaged the services of Brainerd, had been to send him to the Indians upon the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers; but some difference had arisen between the Indians and their neighbors, respecting their title to certain lands, which made the time an inauspicious one for sending him among them. Mr. Sergeant had also written to them, that there was a settlement, called Kanaumeeke, in New York, about half way between Stockbridge and Albany, where a missionary was needed, and could do much good. For these reasons Brainerd's destination was changed, and he was sent to this settlement, which was then in the heart of the woods.

It is quite clear from his Diary, that his health was entirely unequal to such an enterprise. He speaks repeatedly of dizziness, pain, and such weakness that he was not able to stand. When he became once engaged in religious services, his strong excitement would bear him through; but such efforts were made at the expense of his constitution. The account which he gives of the state of his mind, the changes of which he examined and recorded every day, shows that he was an invalid who needed

indulgence and repose. He complains of his deep depression, of his "everlasting uselessness," and unworthiness to creep on God's earth; sometimes he endures, he says, "the tortures of the damned;" he felt as if the wretch who is on his way to execution was far more to be envied than he. There were times, particularly when he retired to the stillness and solitude of the woods, when his spirit felt lightened; but in general he could not escape from the blackness of darkness within. The only relief he had under these sufferings was the thought that they must be over soon. "It seemed to me that I should never do any service, or have any success among the Indians. My soul was weary of my life. I longed for death beyond measure. When I thought of any godly soul departed, my soul was ready to envy him his privilege. Oh! when will my turn come? Must it be years first?"

Such was his condition of body and mind when he first went among the Indians at Kanaumeeek, April 1st, 1743. The first night he slept upon a little heap of straw, which was a fair earnest of the privations which he must encounter. He described the place as a most lonely and melancholy desert, about eighteen miles from Albany. Among the Indians he found a poor Scotchman, with whom he took up his abode. The house in which he resided was a log hut, containing but a single apartment, and wanting even the comfort of a floor. His table was principally supplied with hasty-pudding, boiled corn, and bread baked in the ashes. He could hardly understand the Highland dialect of his host, and with his wife he was not able to converse at all. The only person with whom he could talk freely in his native language was his interpreter, a young Indian, who had been educated in Stockbridge. These circumstances are incidentally mentioned, not as if he thought them of any importance; indeed, he says in a letter to his brother, that he might almost consider himself living in luxury, were it not for his distress within. The Indians were kind to him, and seemed well-disposed to listen to his instructions; but, like all the rest of their race in the neighborhood of what is called civilization, they were crowded by knavish and

grasping adventurers, who were waiting to seize their lands when any pretext could be found for driving them away; and of course were not so much satisfied by lessons of religion from white men, as if they had seen less of the practical Christianity of their civilized neighbors. They all were attentive to his exhortations; some appeared considerably affected; one woman told him that "her heart had cried ever since she heard him first." Nothing in their treatment of him was ever disrespectful; but he was sometimes annoyed by white men, who came from the neighboring settlements, and whose profane and licentious conversation formed an odious contrast with the grave dignity of the Indians. He says of them, in complete disgust, "Oh! what a hell it would be to live with such men to eternity!" and he felt the most sensible thankfulness to God, who had made him to differ from such beings as they.

Solitude was pleasanter to him than such society, and indeed than any other. He was constantly in the habit of retiring into the forest in the intervals of his labor; and sometimes he passed whole days in such retreats, engaged in solitary prayer. His first lodging was at such a distance from the Indians, that he was compelled to walk a mile and a half to reach them. He soon left it for a wigwam; but, finding this a dwelling unsuited to his purpose, he employed himself in building a log hut with his own hands. The work was difficult and slow; but, after great perseverance, he succeeded in it, and seemed to think it luxury when he had a dwelling of his own, in which he could be alone whenever he pleased, and pass his time uninterrupted, in meditation and prayer.

Finding that the only way to make a permanent impression on the Indians was to educate their children, he took a journey to New Jersey to propose to the Commissioners to establish a school. This was immediately done upon his recommendation, and his interpreter was appointed to instruct it. Having reflected much on his misguided zeal when at college, and being always more ready to accuse himself than others, he resolved to humble himself before the college authorities; but they

refused to receive his submission. His mind was so bent on this attempt, that he took another journey to New Haven shortly after, when he renewed his offers, but with equal ill-success. That such journeys were not then the trifles which they are now, may be inferred from the circumstance, that, when he was returning from this last expedition, he lost his way in passing from Stockbridge to Kanaumeeek, and was compelled to pass the night in the woods.

His anxiety to bring about this reconciliation was very great; not because he could derive any personal advantage from it, for college honors were of small importance to one in his situation, but because his conscience accused him of having done wrong, and he did not regard the misdeeds of others as any excuse for his own. The terms in which he offered his submission are characteristic of his self-accusing spirit. "Whereas I have said before several persons concerning Mr. Whittlesey, one of the tutors of Yale College, that I did not believe he had any more grace than the chair I then leaned upon; I humbly confess, that herein I have sinned against God, and acted contrary to the rules of his word, and have injured Mr. Whittlesey. I had no right to make thus free with his character, and had no just reason to say as I did concerning him. My fault herein was the more aggravated, in that I said this concerning one who was so much my superior, and one that I was obliged to treat with special respect and honor, by reason of the relation I then stood in to the college. Such a behavior, I confess, did not become a Christian; it was taking too much upon me, and did not savor of that humble respect that I ought to have expressed towards Mr. Whittlesey." "I have often reflected on this act with grief; I hope, on account of the sin of it; and am willing to lie low and to be abased before God and man for it. I humbly ask the forgiveness of the governors of the college, and of the whole society; but of Mr. Whittlesey in particular." "And whether the governors of the college shall see fit to remove the censure I lie under or not, or to admit me to the privileges I desire; yet I am willing to appear,

if they think fit, openly to own, and to humble myself for those things I have herein confessed."

One would think this sufficiently humble to appease the offended majesty of the college government; but they refused to accept his concessions. Application was made in his behalf by men of great influence, who saw that what was called discipline was no better than revenge. But all their efforts could only prevail with those potentates so far as to make them add insult to injury, by consenting that if he, a licensed minister of the Gospel, and already engaged in labors which they knew he could not abandon, would return to college, and pass a year within its walls as a student, he might be restored to his former standing. This, of course, was impossible; and Brainerd had nothing to do but to witness the ceremony of giving degrees to his classmates, among whom, had justice been done, he would have taken the most honored station. He says in his Diary, September 14th, 1743, "This day I should have taken my degree; but God sees fit to deny it to me. And though I was afraid of being overwhelmed with perplexity and confusion when I should see my classmates take theirs, yet, in the very season of it, God enabled me with calmness and resignation to say, 'The will of the Lord be done!'" The whole affair is illustrative of his character. After the most impartial examination, he believed that he was in the right; but he says, that, if he had offered the least injury to one who had offered a thousand to him, he would ask that man's forgiveness on his knees, however insolently and unworthily his submission might be treated. He feared nothing so much as doing wrong; and he would rather go to excess in the path where his conscience directed him, than run the hazard of leaving any thing undone which it might possibly be his duty to do.

One short extract from his Diary, of his proceedings at Kanaumuck, will give a good idea of his manner of life. "Spent most of the day in labor to procure something to keep my horse on in the winter; was very weak in body through the day, and thought this frail body would

soon drop into the dust; had some realizing apprehensions of a speedy entrance into another world. In this weak state of body, was not a little distressed for want of suitable food. Had no bread, nor could I get any. I am forced to go ten or fifteen miles for all the bread I eat; sometimes it is mouldy and sour before I eat it, if I get any considerable quantity; and then again I have none for days together, for want of an opportunity to send for it, and not being able to find my horse in the woods to go myself; this was my case now. But through Divine goodness, I had some Indian meal, of which I made little cakes and fried them. I felt contented with my circumstances, and blessed God as much as if I had been a king." Strange way of life for one, who was constantly afflicted with bodily weakness and suffering. But these privations seem to have been nothing to him, and all his physical pain was forgotten in the affliction of his soul.

He says, "I fell down before the Lord and groaned under my deadness, barrenness, vileness, and felt as if I was guilty of soul-murder in speaking to immortal souls in the manner I had done. Was very ill and full of pain in the evening, and my soul mourned that I had spent so much time to so little profit. At night I spent some time in instructing my poor people. Oh, that God would pity their souls! I thought, if God should say, 'Cease making any provision for this life, for you shall in a few days go out of time into eternity,' my soul would leap for joy. I always feel comfortably, when God realizes death and the things of another world to my mind. Whenever my mind is taken off from the things of this world and set on God, my soul is at rest."

How ill-suited this way of life was to his delicate frame, appears from what befell him on his return from New Haven. As he was travelling homeward, he was taken with shivering chills and a violent pain in his face, which obliged him to stop at the nearest shelter. He was in pain all night, and the next morning was ill with a fever. He continued several days under the care of kind friends, and it was nearly two weeks before he



reached his home. He tells us, that, glad as the Indians were to welcome his return, yet, had this disorder seized him when at home, in his comfortless lodgings, he should inevitably have died for want of proper care and attention. It shows how much the fervent spirit can do to sustain the weak frame, when we see him, though suffering at times with cold and hunger, often lost in the trackless woods, obliged to pass the night in the open air, and sometimes drenched in the streams through which he rode, still able to attend to the instruction of the people of his charge, and never once thinking of giving up his hard service, and going back to the abodes of civilized men. He seemed to think himself well provided with comforts; he writes, "I was still more indisposed in body and in much pain most of the day, was scarcely able to study at all, and still entirely alone in the wilderness; but, blessed be the Lord, I am not exposed in the open air; I have a house and many of the comforts of life to support me." His house, simple as it was, became very dear to him. Once or twice he speaks of riding to Kinderhook, a distance of twenty miles through the woods, and returning the same day, saying that he would rather encounter much fatigue, to reach his own habitation, than pass the evening with those who had no regard for God. "Oh, a barn, a stable, a hedge, or any other place, is truly desirable, if God is there!"

It would be wrong to give the impression, that he had no happy moments in all these days of trial, though they were certainly but few. His whole effort was to bring his mind to a religious temper; he generally complains that he does not succeed; but, whenever his feeling is such as his conscience approves, he expresses himself with great delight. "This morning spent an hour in prayer, with great intentness and freedom, and the most tender affection toward all mankind. I longed that those, who I have reason to think bear me ill-will, might be eternally happy; it seemed refreshing to think of meeting them in heaven. Oh, it is an emblem of heaven itself, to love all the world with a love of kindness, forgiveness, and benevolence; to feel

our souls sedate and meek; to be void of all evil surmisings and suspicions, and scarce able to think evil of any man on any occasion; to find our hearts simple, open, and free to those that look upon us with a different eye. Prayer was so sweet an exercise to me, that I knew not how to cease, lest I should lose the spirit of prayer."

One circumstance evidently gave him satisfaction, though in his Diary he passes over it very lightly. Feeling as if his services were poor, and yet ardently desiring to do something for the cause of charity and religion, he denied himself every thing which he could live without, for the sake of others. At the end of fifteen months, he had been able to devote to charitable purposes, the sum of one hundred pounds. Had such an amount been devoted to such an object by some rich merchant or nobleman, it would have been celebrated as a generous benefaction; he, it should be remembered, cast it in, not of his abundance, but of his penury; it was only by abridging his own comforts, and denying himself even the common necessities of life, that he was able to save it, for a purpose so exalted. But his whole life was a sacrifice; he was like a taper, itself wasting, while giving light to others.

His situation at Kanaumeeek was not wholly free from danger. That settlement, though now in the heart of the country, was then situated upon an exposed frontier. Whenever war arose between England and France, the Indians, excited by the latter nation, fell at once upon the border settlements, killing, burning, and destroying. Nothing could be more alarming than such inroads. They came like the lightning; no one could tell where the bolt would strike till it was actually fallen; so that the least prospect of war occasioned deep and painful excitement. Those who lived upon the frontier had no choice, but to remain in their place without protection, or to leave their homes to plunder and ruin. One night, when Brainerd was engaged with his Indians at Kanaumeeek, an express arrived in haste, informing him that the Governor had ordered Colonel Stoddard to give warning to all who were in exposed situations, that there was every prospect

of a sudden invasion, and that they must secure themselves, as well as they were able, without delay. The manner in which he notes this occurrence in his Diary is characteristic. He says, that, when he read the letter, it seemed to come in a good season; for his heart was fixed on God, and was not surprised with ill tidings; but it taught him that he must not attach himself to the comforts of life which he had been preparing. This is all the notice which he takes of the startling missive. As to his comforts, they were much to him, though they were such as most men would find it easier to surrender than to enjoy. Instead of dwelling upon the prospect thus suggested to him, he says, that he has some hopes of success in his mission, for some of his hearers had come to him, asking what they must do to be saved; and that his heart is greatly rejoiced when he can promise himself that he shall do good, for there is nothing else which he cares much for in the present world. He asked himself whether he could be resigned to be taken captive or murdered by the Indians, and found, such was his trust in Divine Providence, that he had no anxious fears.

One part of his duty at Kanaumeeek imposed on him more hardship than all the rest. It was that of learning the Indian language, for which purpose he was obliged to ride to Stockbridge to take lessons of Mr. Sergeant, who was familiar with the Mohegan tongue. The Commissioners had urged this point upon him. To communicate with the Indians by means of an interpreter was very unsatisfactory; since he could never be sure that the interpreter himself understood the meaning of that which he undertook to convey. Still the difficulty of learning their unwritten language was so great that it was not often attempted. Brainerd began the study in November, riding over often to spend a few days at Stockbridge, and then returning to his people. He had become so used to solitude, that these days spent in society were irksome to him. He says, "I love to be alone in my little cottage, where I can spend much time in prayer." That his study required some exertion, appears from his Diary, where he says; "December 26th. Rode to Stockbridge.

Was very much fatigued, with my journey, wherein I underwent great hardship; was much exposed, and very wet by falling into a river." "December 31st. Rode from Stockbridge home to my house. The air was clear and calm, but as cold as I ever felt it. I was in great danger of perishing with the extremity of the season." But he says, that, after returning from these expeditions, which he never enjoys, because intercourse with the world makes him less familiar with heaven, as soon as he returns a new scene opens upon his mind. His heart grows so warm in devotion, that he is unwilling to give the time to sleep. "In the evening, though tired, yet was enabled to continue instant in prayer for some time. Spent the time in reading, meditation, and prayer, till the evening was far spent. Was grieved that I could not watch unto prayer the whole night. But, blessed be God, heaven is a place of continual and unceasing devotion, though earth is dull." When we know, that all this was the simple and unaffected expression of his feelings, it is difficult to imagine one who should carry into his sacred calling more of the spirit of the apostle and the martyr.

Brainerd had not been many months at Kanaumuck, before he saw that he might be more usefully employed at some more distant station. The Indians there were few in number, and greatly harassed by the avarice and extortion of their white neighbors, which tended neither to make them open to instruction, nor to give them very exalted ideas of Christian morality. Besides, in case of such wars as took place not many years after, they were in the highway by which the French and their savage allies descended on New England; and, in case of such invasion, they must either be exterminated or take part with the enemy, and, when the wave of war rolled back, they must be the victims on whom the white men wreaked their revenge. It occurred to Brainerd, that, if they could be prevailed on to remove to Stockbridge, they would be under the care of an excellent pastor, who knew their wants, their manners, and their language, and would do all that could be done for their improve-

ment and their welfare; while the same measure would release him from his engagements, and leave him at liberty to go, not to an easier station, but to some of the other tribes, who enjoyed no such means of instruction.

President Edwards, to whom we are indebted for most of the facts in Brainerd's history, tells us, that he has omitted all particulars relating to his manner of instruction and his intercourse with the Indians, for brevity's sake; which is to be regretted, especially as much space is occupied with particulars not more important. All we know is, that the change was owing to Brainerd's representations, and shows how great was his influence among them; since the Indians, though their habits of life compel them to be rovers, have no taste for such removals; and, when they have once built their wigwams and broken up the ground for their corn, they form local attachments in a very short time, and are not easily induced, except by the pressure of necessity, to give up their settlement for another, even if it is in all respects a better home.

As soon as this result was known in the country, some parishes, which were well acquainted with Brainerd's reputation, were anxious to secure the ministrations of so faithful and devoted a servant of the cross. The town of East Hampton, on Long Island, was foremost in its application; and for a short time he seems to have hesitated whether or not to decline it. The place was large, pleasant, and had the attraction of being entirely unanimous in its invitation to him. These, however, were not its recommendations to his mind. He was more influenced by certain difficulties attending the station, which he thought he might be better able to deal with, than a minister who should go to them with a less general welcome. Before he had made up his mind upon the subject, he received another application from the town of Milington, in Connecticut, a place not far from his native village. This would have placed him near his early friends. But he never seems to have given the least consideration to such advantages; he was governed solely by a sense of duty. He therefore did not hesitate to

decline this last invitation, and soon after came to a decision respecting the former; leaving such places for other men to fill, while he adhered to his original purpose of giving his life to a service which was so difficult and disheartening, that the laborers were very few; so few, that, if one deserted it, his loss could not be repaired. The parish at Long Island pursued their object for a considerable time; urging, and with much reason, that he might be useful to them for many years, while he would soon sink under the hardships of his mission, as the winter he had passed at Kanaumek abundantly proved.

But having once determined what his duty required, he was not to be moved. As soon as his health would permit, he went to New York; but so much exhausted was he by sickness, that he was several days upon the way. In his Diary he mentions his disease as a thing of little moment, while he dwells at length upon the changes in his own feelings, in which, as usual, there was a small portion of sunshine flashing at intervals through days of heavy gloom. In New Jersey he met the Commissioners, and arranged the plan of his future operations. Immediately after, he became so ill that he could not set out on his return for several days. It is a little singular that it should not have occurred to them, that to send him on such a mission was like employing him to dig his own grave. That he was not unaware of his own condition, appears from his words: "Eternity appeared very near; my nature was very weak, and seemed ready to be dissolved; the sun declining, and the shadows of evening drawing on apace. Oh, I longed to fill the remaining moments all for God!"

The manner in which he speaks of New York shows how entirely his mind was engrossed with a single pursuit. That city had then begun to develope its great natural advantages, and its business was perhaps as active and surprising to one unused to such scenes, as it would be now; though it was surpassed in extent and numbers by many other cities in the country. But nothing of this kind excited the least attention in him. The only thing

he was struck with in New York was, that he found it impossible to be in solitude and silence there, and of course he could not be happy. He writes, "Oh, it is not the pleasures of the world that can comfort me. If God deny his presence, what are the pleasures of the city to me? One hour of sweet retirement where God is, is better than the whole world."

Though his residence among the Indians at Kanaumeeek had been short, he had gained their confidence and affection. He parted from them with great reluctance; and they had been so fully convinced of his entire disinterestedness, and his deep interest in their welfare, that they were unwilling to let him go. He addressed them with warmth and feeling. Though he could not speak their language, the expression of such emotions hardly needs an interpreter, and cannot be misunderstood. He had so much to say to them, that he hardly knew when to leave off speaking.

On the 1st of May, 1744, he disposed of his clothes and books at Kanaumeeek, that he might travel without incumbrance to his southern station. One would suppose that books were an article not much in demand in so retired a place, particularly the works of ancient divines. This, however, would be a hasty conclusion. For among the hardy men, who were then subduing the forests of New York and New England, there were few who were not furnished with some volumes of the kind, with which they solaced themselves upon the Sabbath, and in other seasons of rest. They would go far to seize such an opportunity of adding to these treasures, which, if they did but little to enlighten their minds, answered a good purpose by keeping up a reverence for sacred subjects in their own minds and their children's.

Having thus broken up his establishment, and left the house which he had built with so much labor, to chance inhabitants, he returned to Stockbridge at the close of a laborious and exciting day. He records that he rode by night in a heavy rain, and was so completely disordered that he was continually throwing up blood. Such was his preparation for a new campaign!

## CHAPTER III.

*He goes to the Delaware.—His Ordination.—His bodily Weakness.—His Influence with the Indians.—Journey to New England.—Visit to the Susquehanna River.—Some Impression made.—Journey to the East.—To Philadelphia.—To the Susquehanna.—Original Letter.—Difficulties in the Way of a Missionary to the Indians.*

THOUGH Brainerd's resolution never failed, he had not enthusiasm enough to take a cheerful view of the prospect before him. He felt as if he had done but little at his former residence to advance the objects of his mission, and he dared not hope for better success in any other region, since he ascribed his failure to himself, and not to the difficulties of the undertaking. In truth, it was partly owing to himself; his thoughts were too constantly turned within; always employed in watching his own rising and falling emotions, he was not so well fitted for communication with the outward world, as some other men of less intellectual ability, who were more familiar with mankind. That he did not flatter himself with excessive hope, appears from his Journal. "Spent much of my time, while riding, in prayer, that God would go with me to Delaware. My heart was sometimes ready to sink with the thoughts of my work, and of going alone into the wilderness, I knew not where. Still, it was comfortable to think, that others of God's children had wandered about in dens and caves of the earth; and Abraham, when he was called to go forth, went out, not knowing whither he went. Oh that I might follow after God!"

On the 8th of May, he began his journey, and travelled to Fishkill, a distance of forty-five miles; thence, crossing the Hudson river, he went to Goshen, in the High-



lands. There he struck across the country, through the woods, in a course which led him through a desolate and hideous region, in which were very few settlements, and suffered much from fatigue and hardship on the way. Occasionally he encountered some tribe of Indians, and attempted to explain the principles of Christianity to those uninterested hearers. But no employment nor weariness could prevent his feeling the utter loneliness of his situation. He was fond of solitude; but the ghastly desolation of the wilderness seemed to go to his very soul.

The Sabbath had always been a day of happiness to him, wherever it was passed; but the first Sabbath of his journey was spent among some Dutch and Irish people, about twelve miles from the Fork of the Delaware. In the morning he rose early, feeling miserable after this fatigue and exposure, and hoping that the rest of the Sabbath would restore him. But the day seemed the most dreary that ever dawned; the children were all at play; no one appeared to keep it holier than any other day; no one had the least sympathy with him or his pursuits; no one was disposed to listen to his words, however affectionate they might be. He felt like a "creature banished from the sight of God." After addressing himself to the Irish, some of them seemed to be serious and inclined to pay attention to the subject; but he felt himself, as he says, "loose from all the world. I seemed lonesome and disconsolate, as if banished from all mankind and bereaved of all that is called pleasurable in the world; but I appeared to myself so vile and unworthy, it seemed fitter for me to be here than anywhere."

After remaining in this place about two weeks, he was required by his instructions to present himself at Newark, to receive ordination as a minister of the Gospel. On the 11th of June, the Presbytery were assembled, and, according to the usual practice, he preached before them, and afterwards passed through an examination. Mr. Pemberton, in a letter to the Society in Scotland that employed him, states, that "Mr. Brainerd passed through his ordination trials to the universal approbation of the Presbytery, and appeared uncommonly qualified for the

work of the ministry. He seems armed with a great deal of self-denial, and animated with a noble zeal to propagate the Gospel among those barbarous nations, which have dwelt so long in the darkness of heathenism." The writer of this letter preached at the ordination. Brainerd's mind was deeply impressed with the solemnity of the service and the obligations which it enjoined.

The first day, after this ceremony, was spent in writing a communication to Scotland, respecting his mission. The next day he went forward, or rather attempted to go; in the morning he was prevented by pain; in the afternoon he resolved not to be hindered by so slight an obstacle; but, when he endeavored to go, his pain increased so as almost to deprive him of reason, and he was obliged to submit to medical restrictions. He found no relief from his distress for three days. He was not able to walk till the Monday after, and this he considered as a signal for his departure. Accordingly on Tuesday he mounted his horse, and set out on his laborious journey; but it seems to have been a happy one, for, while his feebleness continued, so that at the end of his three days' ride he was hardly able to walk, he felt lighter in spirit than for a long time before. He seems to have had a presentiment at times, that the wish of his soul would be gratified at last, and that he should accomplish something after all his labors. He says that midnight itself was not so dark as the prospect of converting the Indians. Still, though impossible to men, it was possible to the Most High; and, relying on the confidence that the work was his, he "could not but hope to accomplish something glorious among them."

Encouraged by this occasional hope, he went forth resolutely to his post, and was soon rewarded by observing more attention among them than ever he had witnessed before. It could not be, that with his eloquence and feeling he should speak to them entirely in vain; for, observant and suspicious as their intercourse with the whites had made them, they could not but see that he had no personal object to accomplish by coming among them. His appearance showed that his days were numbered.

The contrast between his bodily weakness and his inward energy could not escape them, and they must have felt some curiosity to know what it was that could strengthen so feeble a frame to go through with such laborious duties. He says, "My nature, being very weak of late and much spent, was now considerably overcome. My fingers grew very feeble and somewhat numb; I could hardly stretch them out straight. When I alighted from my horse, I could scarcely walk; my joints all seemed to be loosed. But I felt abundant strength in the inner man. God helped me much, especially in prayer, as I preached to the white people. Sundry of my poor Indians were so moved as to come to meeting, and one appeared much concerned."

Soon after he came among the Indians, they made preparations for an idolatrous feast and dance; a movement very unpropitious to the increase of his influence among them. This put him in anguish; he felt as if he ought to go and endeavor to prevent it, and yet did not see how it was possible for him to interfere on such an occasion. He withdrew into the woods for prayer; and, while engaged in devotion, he was in such agony, that the sweat ran down from him; when he arose, he could not walk; his frame seemed as if it would sink into the dust. The next day he rode to the place of their meeting, and found the Indians engaged in their riotous festival. Such was his influence among them, though almost a stranger, that he prevailed upon them to break up their noisy assembly, to leave their unfinished revels, and to sit quietly to hear him preach the Gospel. In the afternoon they again assembled, and heard him with more attention than before. Surely, if he could prevail upon them thus, he had reason to hope for some success.

While he remained at this Irish settlement, he rode round in all directions to preach to the Indians, enduring great fatigue both of body and mind. The greatest difficulty in his way seemed to be the fear of the Powows, who hold the Indians in slavish subjection by means of their wild and barbarous superstitions. Brainerd openly defied these men, telling them to do their worst to injure

him; then he showed the Indians, that though he had challenged and provoked these great sorcerers, they had not power to harm a hair of his head. But their credulity is not to be overcome. Heckewelder saw a public experiment made upon a friend of his, who in like manner defied these enchanterers. After trying all kinds of incantation to work upon his fears, but without success, the Powows declared that their charms had not the usual effect upon him, because he ate so much salt with his food; and the implicit faith of the tribe was not shaken in the least, even by this public exposure.

It was not long before he was worn out with his constant exertions. On the 5th of August, which was the Sabbath, he preached to the Indians twice, though he was obliged to address them without rising, being wholly unable to stand. "At night, was extremely weak, faint, sick, and full of pain. And thus I have continued much in the same state that I was in last week; unable to engage in any business, frequently unable to pray in the family. I am obliged to let all my thoughts and concerns run at random; for I have neither strength to read, meditate, or pray. I seem to myself like a man that has all his estate embarked in one small boat, unhappily going adrift down a swift torrent. The poor owner stands on the shore, and looks, and laments his loss. But alas! though my all seems to be adrift, and I stand and see it, I dare not lament; for this sinks my spirits more, and aggravates my bodily disorders. I am forced therefore to divert myself with trifles; although at the same time I am afraid, and afterwards feel as if I was guilty of the misimprovement of time. And often my conscience is so exercised about this miserable way of spending time, that I have no peace; though I have no strength of mind or body to improve it to better purpose. Oh that God would pity my distressed state!"

As soon as he was able to mount his horse, he left his place of residence at the Fork of the Delaware, and took a journey to New England. He was absent about three weeks, great part of which was taken up with travelling several hundred miles over roads which did not

permit those in health, much less invalids, to move with expedition. The moment he gained a little strength he returned, and, as soon as he reached his home, made preparations for a journey to the river Susquehanna, where were Indians who were embraced in the plan of his mission. He went in company with another clergyman, an interpreter, and two of his Delaware Indians, over the most rough and dangerous travelling that any of the party had ever seen. There seemed to be no level ground; all was rocks, valleys, and mountains. In one of these passes his beast fell under him, and was so much injured that he was compelled to kill her to put her out of pain. He himself was not injured; but the party was compelled to encamp in the woods, which, in the month of October, affords no attractive lodgings. By kindling a fire and covering themselves with bushes, they contrived to pass the night without suffering. The next day he proceeded on foot, and at night encamped as before. Instead of being depressed by the accident, he was full of praise for his preservation from injury in so dangerous a fall.

After a journey of three days, they arrived at the place of their destination on the Susquehanna river, where they found a settlement consisting of twelve Indian houses. When he had paid his respects to the king, he explained to him that he had come for the purpose of teaching Christianity. He made no objection, but gathered his Indians to listen. After attending to what he had to say, they consented to hear him the next day, though they were busy in preparing for a hunting expedition. So far from manifesting any disrespect, they even deferred the enterprise in question for the sake of hearing him; but he complains, that, though they heard with candor, they made many objections to Christianity. He does not say what the objections were; but they were doubtless founded upon the treatment which the Indians received from those who professed to be governed by the Christian law. It is not to be expected, that Indians should make the necessary distinction between Christianity and Christians; and, if they receive injuries from those who bear the name

of that religion, they will very naturally infer, either that the religion allows such immorality, or that it has not strength to prevent it; and neither view of the subject will tend to give them the feeling of reverence for Christianity. The conference produced no decided results; the Indians went forth to hunt, and the party returned walking by day and encamping by night as before, much troubled by the howling of wolves which disturbed their rest, but feeling neither uneasiness nor fear.

A perpetual restlessness, owing, perhaps, to his disease, seemed to keep him in constant motion. Shortly after his return from the Susquehanna, he went to attend a meeting of the Presbytery in New York. President Edwards says that he entered upon this journey with great reluctance, fearing lest the diversions of it might be the means of cooling his religious affections. What these diversions were, may be inferred from a leaf of his Journal, giving an account of his return. "November 22d. Came on my way from Rockciticus to the Delaware river; was very much disordered with a cold and pain in my head. About six at night, I lost my way in the woods, and wandered over rocks and mountains, down hideous steepes, through swamps, and most dreadful and dangerous places. The night being dark, so that few stars could be seen, I was greatly exposed; I was much pinched with cold, and distressed with extreme pain in my head, attended with sickness at my stomach, so that every step I took was distressing to me. I had little hope, for several hours together, but that I must lie out in the woods all night. But, through the abundant goodness of God, I found a house about nine at night, and was hospitably entertained. Thus have I frequently been exposed; but God has hitherto preserved me, blessed be his name. Such fatigues and hardships serve to wean me more from the earth. Formerly, when I was thus exposed to cold and rain, I was ready to please myself with the thoughts of enjoying a comfortable house, a warm fire, and other outward comforts; but now these have less place in my heart."

For about a month, he continued constantly and

warmly engaged in teaching, but not with uniform success. The power of old habit was too strong for him at times; when the season of the festival came, he could not prevail upon the Indians to give up their favorite indulgence. But he secured some little additional comfort for himself, by providing a small house like that at Kanaumek, where he could be quiet and alone. It was near the habitation of a white family, with whom he had formerly resided, and with whom he still made it his practice to attend morning and evening prayers. By the last of December, he began to perceive that some impression had been made. As he preached to his attentive audience, one aged man, apparently more than a hundred years old, was so much affected, that the tears ran down his eyes. The others, having been educated in profound reverence for old age, were moved at the sight; and, though they did not manifest much interest in the subject, it was evident that he came nearer their hearts than ever he had done before.

These indications were not followed by any decided results; and, after spending the winter among them, he undertook a journey of several weeks in the spring, travelling through New Jersey, New York, and New England, in order to raise means for supporting a colleague in his mission, who should at once extend its usefulness and relieve the solitude of his labors. His biographer does not inform us whether he succeeded or not, nor indeed does he furnish us with any particulars; a reserve, for which we are but poorly compensated by whole pages of extracts descriptive of his feelings from day to day. Immediately after his return, he went to Philadelphia, to engage the good offices of the Governor. Having formed the plan of living at the Susquehanna settlements, it was necessary to ask permission of the chief of the Six Nations, who claimed the territory on which those Indians resided. It is impossible to tell whether there was any foundation for this pretence of vassalage; but, whether it was true or not, the Six Nations were powerful, and it was easier to gain their friendship, than to defy them. Here again his biogra-

pher says not a single word concerning his success, his adventures, or his return, unless we make an exception of the unimportant fact, that on his way, he lodged with one Mr. Beaty, a young Presbyterian minister. President Edwards says, that, in his work, many things are left out for brevity's sake, which would have been a great advantage to the history, if they had been inserted. Without disparagement to so great a man, we must say, that the better course would have been to have left out that which was of no advantage to the history, and to find room for particulars which every reader desires to know.

He did not allow himself time to rest when he returned from Philadelphia, before he went to the Susquehanna Indians, though he was well aware that he had not strength for the journey; not being able, according to his usual practice, to spend a day previously in fasting and prayer. But, without any confidence in his ability to go through, he set out with his interpreter, and encountered hardships even greater than he had expected from his former knowledge of the country. The first night he was compelled to lodge without shelter in the woods; the next day he was overtaken by a violent north-easterly storm, which chilled him so that he was ready to perish; having nothing to protect him from the rain, he could not stop, though he was hardly able to go, and therefore pressed forward, in hopes of finding some protection from the elements, without which, it seemed to him that he must die. But unfortunately their horses had eaten some poisonous herb the night before, which made them so sick that the riders were obliged to dismount and drive them. They were not, however, discouraged; and, as the night came on, they reached a deserted wigwam, which, in their circumstances, was more to them than a palace to a king.

Thus preserved, he was able to reach the Susquehanna river, on the borders of which he travelled more than a hundred miles, visiting several different nations, and attempting to preach the Gospel to them also. But they received it with a coldness, which quite discouraged him.



The only satisfaction he had was an accidental meeting with some of his old hearers at Kanaumeeek, who welcomed him with great delight, and rejoiced in the opportunity of listening once more to his instructions. Under all discouragement he kept on, travelling about to preach by day, and at night lodging upon the ground, sometimes in the open air. At last he was struck with a fever, as he was riding in the forest. It came on with burning pain and a great discharge of blood, which reduced him so, that, had he not been near the hut of an Indian trader, he must have perished upon the ground. Here he had neither medicine, attendance, nor proper food; but, after a time, he recovered, and was able to make his way homeward to the Fork of the Delaware, which he reached after the most difficult journey he had ever gone through. His body was almost worn out. After each recovery his strength was less than it was before; and, what was far more painful to him, his hopes of making an impression on the Indians, grew less every day. He never had depended on his own exertions, and it seemed to him as if it was not ordained in the counsels of heaven, that the hour was come.

A letter from Brainerd to Mr. Sergeant, which has never before been published, is here set before the reader. It was written just before the three journeys last mentioned.

“Woodbury, 15 March, 1745.

“REVEREND AND HONORED SIR,

“In November last, I attempted to send you a line by Mr. Van Schaick, to inform you of the state of affairs with me, and actually wrote; but, he leaving New York an hour sooner than I expected, I was disappointed. And now I am in the greatest hurry, and can but hint at things I would otherwise be a little more particular in. As to my affairs here, I took a journey last October to Susquehanna, and continued there some time; preaching frequently to the Indians in a place called Opehollaupung, about fifteen or twenty miles down the river from the place you formerly visited. I supposed I had some

encouragement among them, and I propose to visit them again about the middle of next month, with leave of Divine Providence, and think to spend most of the summer in those parts, if a door opens for it. There is one peculiar difficulty in the way; the lands these Indians live upon belong to the Six Nations, that is, the Mohawks, and it is something doubtful whether they will suffer a missionary to come among their tributaries, and on their lands. Yet this difficulty, we hope, may be removed by the influence of the Governor of Pennsylvania, who maintains a strict friendship with the Six Nations, whose assistance the Correspondents have endeavored to engage in this affair. May He, who has the hearts of all men in his hands, open their hearts to receive the Gospel.

“I have, this winter past, had more encouragement among the Indians of the Delaware than ever before. A spirit of seriousness and concern has seemed to spread among them, and many of them have been very attentive and desirous of instruction. But I have also met with many discouragements, so that I scarcely know what to say. Yet I am not discouraged, but still hope that the day of Divine power shall come, when they shall become a willing people.

“I long to hear of your affairs; and especially how things are like to turn out with respect to your plan of a free boarding-school, which is an affair much upon my heart amidst all my heavy concerns, and I can learn nothing whether it is likely to succeed or not.

“I fully designed to have given something considerable for promoting that good design; but whether I shall be able to give any thing, or whether it will be my duty to do so under present circumstances, I know not. I have met with sundry losses lately, to the value of sixty or seventy pounds, New England money. In particular, I broke my mare's leg last fall in my journey to Susquehanna, and was obliged to kill her on the road, and prosecute my journey on foot, and I can't get her place supplied for fifty pounds. And I have lately moved to have a colleague or companion with me, for my spirits sink with my solitary circumstances. And I expect to

contribute something to his maintenance, seeing his salary must be raised wholly in this country and can't be expected from Scotland.

"I sold my tea-kettle to Mr. Jo. Woodbridge, and an iron kettle to Mr. Timothy Woodbridge, both which amounted to something more than four pounds, which I ordered them to pay to you for the school. I hope you will use the money that way; if not, you are welcome to it for yourself. I desire my tea-pot and bed-ticking may be improved to the same purpose.

"As to my blankets, I desired Mr. Woodbridge to take the trouble of turning them into deer skins. If he has not done it, I wish he would, and send the skins to Mr. Hopkins, or, if it might be, to Mr. Bellamy. Please to remember me to Madam and all friends.

"I am, Sir, in greatest haste,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"DAVID BRAINERD."

This letter is thus given at length, because it is fully expressive of the direct and simple-hearted character of the writer. It shows, that he was never so much wrapt up in his own plans, as not to feel a quick and active sympathy for those of others. While it makes manifest how slender his own resources were, it is an eloquent proof of his readiness to do and to sacrifice all in his power to aid the great cause which he had at heart.

Brainerd, in his work called "Divine Grace Displayed," gives a minute account of his difficulties and discouragements, which it is necessary to know in order to do justice to his strength of heart. His charge, as a pastor of the Indians, required constant attention; they were so entirely destitute of all that common information, which usually forms a preparation for receiving further instruction, their minds were so unaccustomed to any kind of simply intellectual action, and their tastes and habits so unpropitious to reflection, that it was only by explaining, again and again, that he could bring them to the most distant comprehension of Christian truths. Besides, they were a spiritless and vacant race, except when under the influ-

ence of some strong excitement; at such times they thought and acted with energy and decision, while at other times they were wholly destitute of animation. To excite them to a deep interest in Christianity was no easy thing; for how could they be made to concern themselves for the future existence, who did not even look forward to the next day? In addition to his preaching, which did little more than call their attention to the subject, he was obliged to catechise and converse with them day after day. Beside the spiritual charge, he had all the secular concerns of his people on his hands. He was expected to arrange all their differences, to provide for their wants, to attend to their affairs of every description, like a guardian of so many children. It may be easily conceived, that, while he was compelled to bear this burden, and at the same time to ride four thousand miles a year for the necessary purposes of his mission, his duty was quite as extensive as one man can be expected to do.

Unfortunately, this constant activity prevented his learning the Indian language, and thus deprived him of the best means of influence over his people. For, as has been said, any interpreter is a poor substitute for personal communication; and the one whom he employed, though worthy enough in other respects, was obstinately incredulous as to his ever making any impression on the Indians. Of course, Brainerd's most earnest appeals came from his mouth cold, lifeless, and unaffecting. After a time, however, this difficulty was happily removed; the interpreter, who was a man fifty years old, intelligent, and familiar with the Indian character, became himself deeply interested in Christianity. He then addressed his own race in a different tone; with an earnestness and feeling, which he had never manifested before. This was the beginning of Brainerd's success.

He found it extremely difficult to bring the Indians to any right understanding of the doctrines which he endeavored to teach. They had their own religious ideas, believing in the Great Spirit, and a future state of rewards and punishments; beyond their rude conceptions of these

things, they could hardly be made to go. He said, that "it was next to impossible to bring them to any rational conviction that they were sinners by nature, and that their hearts were corrupt and sinful." They could not conceive of being a sinner, without having done wrong. He said also, that it was "extremely difficult to give them any just notion of the undertaking of Christ in behalf of sinners; of his obeying and suffering in their room and stead, in order to atone for their sins, and of their being justified by his righteousness imputed to them." They could not conceive why God might not forgive without it; nor, if all deserved to suffer, what justice there was in one's suffering for the whole. Many other questions were proposed to him, to which he found it hard to make any satisfactory reply. Such, for example, as this; how the Indians came to be dark-colored, if they descended from the same parents with the white men; and how it happened, that, supposing all to have come from one place, the Indians only should have removed to this country, and all the white men remained behind.

The manners of the Indians also presented a serious obstacle to a missionary educated in the refinements of civilized life. To go and talk with them in their houses, filled as they were with smoke and cinders, and disgusting with all manner of filth, gave him sick headaches and other disorders. The children would cry at pleasure when he was speaking, and their mothers would take no care to quiet them. Some would be playing with their dogs, others attending to some household business, without the least regard to him; and this, not out of disrespect, but only because they had never been trained to better manners. These things often oppressed him so much, that he gave over in despair, believing that it would not be possible for him ever to address an Indian again.

Such are a few of the difficulties which he had to encounter; and all these were increased a thousand fold by the agency of white men. Not only by the infamy, which their frauds and extortions associated with the name of Christian in the minds of the Indians, but by

the direct resistance which they offered to elevating a race, whom they considered as their prey. So it has always been with white men on the Indian borders; all that is vile in them is brought out in bold relief; they are apt to be strangers to conscience, humanity, and shame; so that one who regards character alone, asks, Which is the savage, and which the civilized man? The question is easily answered.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*His Preaching at Crossweeksung.—His Success.—The general Impression produced.—His enforcing the Marriage Law.—The Baptism of the Converts.—His Visit to the Susquehanna.—Festival at Juneauts.—Some peculiar Customs.—Singular Description of a Powow.—An Indian Reformer.—Brainerd's Return.—He relieves the Indians from their Debt.—Change in the Habits of the Community.—Their Removal to Cranberry.—His last Visit to the Susquehanna Indians.*

UP to this time, Brainerd, though he had exerted himself diligently and given great attention to every favorable indication among the people of his charge, could not disguise from himself, that he had met with very little success. But now the scene began to change; a new and surprising interest in the subject began to prevail among the Indians. The desponding took courage; the incredulous began to wonder what the change could mean; those, who had least faith in such reforms, could not help admitting that here was one such as they had never expected to see; and the missionary, who had so long labored against hope, rejoiced in the assurance of gathering a harvest where few had been able to reap before him. It was doubly welcome, because so long deferred; it came just in time to cheer the setting of his day.

Hearing that there were Indians at a place called Cross-weeks or Crossweeksung, in the province of New Jersey, about eighty miles from his station at the Fork of the Delaware, Brainerd determined to visit them, to ascertain if they could be induced to receive Christianity. He found them living in small settlements, at a considerable distance from each other, which made it difficult to address them; but, when he made the attempt with the few whom he could assemble, he found them well disposed to listen, and not full of cavils and objections like most other Indians. They were indeed only a few women and children; but they readily undertook to travel twelve or fifteen miles, at their own suggestion, to give notice to their companions, that a preacher would address them on the next day.

They assembled to the number of seven or eight, and this audience, like the former, listened with fixed attention, making no objections to any of his assertions. For a week he preached to them once each day, their number and attention continually increasing; and then they requested him, in order that they might improve the time that he was with them, to speak to them twice a day. To this he cheerfully consented, though the effort was too great for his strength. They were so engaged in the subject which he presented to them, that they took no care for their own subsistence, and would have suffered, had it not been for some deer which came near the place in which they were assembled, and were immediately secured. After preaching ten days, his hearers amounted to fifty, all of whom seemed animated by one spirit of concern for the welfare of their souls.

He was soon overcome by this constant effort, and, much against his will, was compelled to leave them, to restore himself by visiting some of his friends in New Jersey. They all expressed the most anxious desire to see him again, and promised that they would gather many more to hear him when he returned. One woman told him with many tears, that she wished God would change her heart; and an old man, who had been one of their chiefs, wept bitterly with concern for his future sal-

vation. Under these circumstances, he was very reluctant to leave them, fearing lest their good impressions should die away; but it was necessary for him to go. It appears from his Journal, that he was so animated by the prospect now before him, that his melancholy entirely left him; he was more free from depression than he had been for years.

As soon as he could leave the Indians on the Delaware, he returned, and arrived at Crossweeksung on the 1st of August, 1745. He was received with enthusiasm by all his former hearers and many more. He preached to them as before, and almost all present were dissolved in tears. In the evening they gave some proof of the change in their feelings, by refusing to taste their usual food till they had sent for him to come and ask a blessing upon it; which he did, reminding them of their idolatrous festivals and other unworthy practices, from which Christianity was now to save them.

On the 5th of August, he addressed them again, and found that they were in a state of increasing anxiety; the interpreter was obliged to be with them day and night, to answer the thousand questions which they were constantly proposing. The next day, he says, "they seemed eager of hearing; but there appeared nothing very remarkable, except their attention, till near the close of my discourse, and then Divine truths were attended with a surprising influence, and produced a great concern among them. There were scarce three in forty who could refrain from cries and bitter tears. They all, as one, seemed in an agony of soul to obtain an interest in Christ; and the more I discoursed of the love and compassion of God in sending his Son to suffer for the sins of men, and the more I invited them to come and partake of his love, the more their distress was aggravated, because they felt themselves unable to come. It was surprising to see how their hearts seemed to be pierced with the tender and melting invitations of the Gospel, when there was not one word of terror spoken to them." "Most were much affected, and many in great distress; some few could neither go nor stand, but lay flat on the ground,



as if pierced at heart, crying incessantly for mercy. Several were newly awakened; and it was remarkable, that as fast as they came from remote places round about, the Spirit of God seemed to seize them with concern for their souls."

Brainerd stood amazed at the scene that was passing under his eyes. He could compare it to nothing but to some mighty deluge, that bears down with insupportable weight and sweeps before it whatever stands in its way. Almost all persons of all ages were struck with concern together, and hardly one was able to withstand the force of the impression. Old men and women, who had been abandoned for years, and children of six or seven years of age, were in the same distress. A chief man among them, who thought highly of himself because he knew more than most of the Indians, and was proud of his moral character, came forward to humble himself and confess that he was miserably unworthy. One of their Powows, the class who were most hardened against Christianity, because it threatened to destroy their influence, cried for mercy, with many tears, lamenting that he could not be more anxious when he saw that his danger was so great.

Brainerd gives a striking description of this singular and imposing scene. "There was now a great mourning, like the mourning of Hadadrimmon. They were universally praying and crying for mercy, in every part of the house and many out of doors, and numbers could neither go nor stand. Their concern was so great, each one for himself, that none seemed to take any notice of those about them, but each prayed as freely for themselves, and I am apt to think, were, to their own apprehension, as much retired as if they had been alone in the desert; or I believe rather, that they thought nothing about any but themselves and their own state, and so were praying *every one apart*, though all together."

Some of the whites in the neighborhood, who heard what was passing, came to ridicule and resist him, but they too were affected like all the rest. There were some scoffers among the Indians, who came with the

same design. One Indian girl, who never heard that she had a soul, and knew nothing about the subject, came to see what was going on; she called at Brainerd's lodgings on her way, and, when he told her that he intended to preach to the Indians, she laughed at him with disdain. She attended the service, however; and, before he had proceeded far in his address, he says that she was like one struck through with a dart, crying out in anguish, and wholly unable to stand. During the service, and long after it was over, she lay on the ground, refusing to speak to any one, and praying in a low voice. From his knowledge of the language, he could distinguish these words; "Have mercy upon me, and help me to give you my heart."

Some incidents occurred, which he apprehended would do something to change the direction of their feelings. It was admitted among the Indians, that a man had a perfect right to put away one wife and to take another at pleasure. One person, who had done this, was troubled in his mind respecting it, doubting whether it was right, though it was the prevailing custom of his country. Brainerd saw, that his determination of this case of conscience might prejudice the minds of many against a self-denying religion. But he was not the man to make any compromise with his duty. He therefore showed the Indian the Christian rule respecting marriage; and, when it appeared on inquiry, that the woman had given him no sufficient cause to desert her, and that she was willing to forgive his unkindness, he was told that it was his indispensable duty to give up the wife he had last taken, and to receive the former to his dwelling again. This was against his inclination; but he complied at once, when he was assured that it was right; and the other Indians, when the matter was made known to them, admitted that the Christian rules respecting marriage were far better than their own.

The interest was sustained without abatement. Nearly two weeks after his return, he says, "God is powerfully at work among them! True and genuine convictions of sin are daily promoted in many instances,

and some are newly awakened from time to time. I never saw the work of God appear so independent of means as at this time. I discoursed to the people, and spoke what, I suppose, had a proper tendency to promote convictions, and God's manner of working upon them appeared so entirely supernatural and above means, that I could scarce believe he used me as an instrument, or what I spake as means of carrying on his work. I seemed to have nothing to do but to stand still and see the salvation of God. I saw no room to attribute any part of this work to any created arm."

The ceremony of baptizing these converts was simple and striking. It was performed under the open sky, in presence of their native woods and waters; himself, the young apostle, intellectual and delicate, with the red seal of consumption on his cheek, standing in the midst of these wild and hardy forms, which looked up to him as to a superior being. Many came from far and near to behold the scene, which was certainly as impressive as any that was ever witnessed in the land. When the spectators were gone, and the pastor was left alone with his people, he reminded them of the solemn obligations they were under, of the danger of dishonoring their profession, and the need of constant watchfulness and devotion to prevent their good resolutions from dying away. "They then took each other by the hand, with tenderness and affection, as if their hearts were knit together, while I was discoursing to them; and all their deportment was such toward each other, that a serious spectator might justly be excited to cry out with admiration, 'Behold, how they love one another!' Sundry of the other Indians, at seeing and hearing these things, were much affected and wept bitterly, longing to be partakers of the same joy."

The number of those who were seriously impressed by his instructions was ninety-five persons, both old and young, not all baptized, but all engaged with the same earnestness in the duties of devotion. When he had spent three weeks with them, he reminded them that there were others who had claims upon his services, and

to whom he was bound to go. He wished them, therefore, to join with him in prayer on the last day of his visit, that the Divine blessing, without which he could do nothing, might attend him, and open the hearts of other Indians to receive his words. They readily consented, and remained with him till the evening, when he bade them an affectionate farewell and set out on his journey as the sun was going down. He was afterwards assured by his interpreter, that they continued in the place where he left them, without being conscious of the flight of time, till, going out from the house, they saw that the morning star was risen and the first beams of daybreak kindling in the sky!

When he returned to the Delaware, some of his converts went with him, and his Indian audience, and the whites who attended, listened with more seriousness than ever before; but, when he went to the Susquehanna, a different scene awaited him, and seemed to bring back the gloom which of late had been so happily dispelled. The place of his destination was an Indian village called Shaumoking, about one hundred and twenty miles westward from the Fork of the Delaware. It lay partly on the east and partly on the west side of the river, and partly on a large island in it, and was larger than most of the Indian settlements, being curiously made up of people from three different tribes, whose dialect was wholly unintelligible to each other. They amounted in all to about three hundred, and were considered the wildest and most degraded Indians in the country. Brainerd says of them, that Satan seems in an eminent manner to have fixed his seat in their town.

They received him with sufficient kindness in their way, but he had no influence over them. After encamping on the ground for three nights, he needed rest; but a dance and revel were going on in the house where he was compelled to lodge; and, though one of their number was sick in it, and his life endangered by their wild uproar, all Brainerd's remonstrances could not induce them to remove nor lessen their rejoicings. The next day he visited the Delaware king; and spent some time

in endeavoring to render him favorably disposed towards Christianity. He seemed willing to be instructed, though not much interested in what was said to him. Brainerd was in hopes of having his influence exerted in favor of religion. As for his subjects, they were in such a state of perpetual intoxication, that it was impossible to collect an audience among them, however small. The next day, he was fortunate enough to find one part of the village where they had not shared in the orgies of the preceding festival. Fifty hearers were collected, and listened with encouraging attention; but all his hopes were destroyed by a hunting expedition, which took place immediately after, and left the town almost deserted. His Diary at this time, which was, probably for want of ink, written with the juice of some berry which he found in the woods, was entirely obliterated; but his public Journal gives an account of his movements from day to day.

Travelling down the river, he came to an island, named Juneauta, where he had been well received on former occasions; but now they were less cordial, it might be, from the circumstance that they were making preparations for a great sacrifice, which they did with a sort of defiance to him. He could not collect them to speak to them on the subject of religion; and, if he had, his only interpreter was one of their own number, who could speak the English language, but had not the least interest in Christianity. His own interpreter, not being able to speak the dialect of these Indians, was not with him on this journey; so that he was entirely alone. He could do nothing more than wait for a favorable opportunity to address them.

In the evening, they kindled an immense fire that threw its red light afar upon the stream and the woods that bordered it. Their religious service seemed to consist in dancing around it, with such outcries that they could be heard at the distance of miles in the stillness of the night. At times they threw in the fat of deer which they had prepared for the occasion, yelling fearfully as it rose in bright columns of flame. The mis-

sionary must have formed a singular contrast to this riotous assemblage, as he, the sole representative of civilization, stood gazing upon them, making no attempt to interfere, for it would not have been tolerated, but anxious to observe every thing in the ways and customs of a people, whom it was the first wish of his heart to reform. It was not till daybreak, that they sat down to eat the flesh of the deer, which they had prepared. He then crept into a little crib made for corn, and there slept, as he might, on the poles which formed the floor.

The next morning being the Sabbath, he made new attempts to gain a hearing; but he soon found, that they had other employment on their hands; for about noon they gathered their Powows, and set them at work to ascertain, by their incantations, what was the cause of a disease, which at the time prevailed among them. In this business they were engaged for several hours, making all manner of wild outcries and contortions; sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then reaching out their arms at full length with all their fingers spread, as if to keep something away; sometimes bowing down with an expression of deep reverence to some invisible presence, and then lying prostrate on the ground. Their motions were well calculated to give the impression to the Indians, that some unseen beings were present, and this probably was the reason of the fear with which they were regarded. In fact, Brainerd himself says, that it was impossible to witness them without sensations of horror and dread. He sat near them with his Bible in his hands, looking on them with that expression of pity, which their ignorance could not but inspire.

The Indians of this island had been much acquainted with the whites; they had many of them learned the English language, and, as a matter of course, had acquired a taste for drunkenness and other civilized vices. This was the reason of their being so unpromising subjects of instruction. They differed in some of their customs from other Indians. When one of them died, the body was deposited in a close crib above-ground for about a year, till the flesh was almost gone; then the

bones were scraped and washed, and afterwards buried with their usual forms. Their medical practice consisted in striking their hands together over the sick, and other means of conjuration on which they relied, without resorting much to outward or internal applications; this was apt to remove the disease and the patient with it; but the confidence of the Indians in it was unbounded.

Brainerd had the opportunity of visiting many different tribes of Indians, each having some peculiarities in which they differed from the rest; but he says, that, of all the sights he ever saw among them or anywhere else, nothing ever excited such images of terror in his mind or came so near what he imagined of the infernal powers, as the appearance of one of these sorcerers, who had the reputation of a reformer among them, being anxious to restore the ancient purity of their religion. His pontifical vesture was a coat of bear-skin, with the hair outside, falling down to his feet; his stockings were of the same material; and his face was covered with a hideous mask painted with different colors, and attached to a hood of bear-skin, which was drawn over his head. He held in his hand an instrument made of a dry tortoise-shell, with corn in it, and fitted to a long handle. As he came up to Brainerd, he beat a tune with this rattle and danced with all his might, suffering no part of his form, not even his fingers, to appear. Brainerd tells us, that when this figure came up to him, he could not but shrink from it in dismay, though he knew that the sorcerer had no hostile feelings or intentions. If it were so with him, it is easy to imagine how the credulous Indians must be affected.

At his invitation, Brainerd went into his house with him, and conversed much on the subject of religion. Some parts of his doctrine the sorcerer seemed to approve, but from others he strongly dissented. He said, that the Great Spirit had taught him his religion, which he did not mean to abandon, but on the contrary wished to find some who would join him in sincerely professing it; for the Indians were grown so corrupt and degenerate, that he could no longer endure them. He

believed that there must be good men somewhere, and he intended to go forth and travel in order to find them. Formerly he had acquiesced in the prevailing corruption; but, several years before, his spirit had so revolted from it, that he had left the presence of men and dwelt alone in the woods. While he was in solitude, the Great Spirit had taught him, that, instead of deserting men, he ought to remain with them and endeavor to do them good. He then immediately returned to his associates, and, since that time, he had no other feeling than that of friendship for all mankind. The Indians confirmed the account which he gave of himself; saying, that when strong drink came among them, he warned and implored them not to use it; and, when his counsels were disregarded, he would leave them in sorrow and go crying into the woods.

Brainerd's curiosity and interest were strongly engaged by this remarkable man, and he took great pains to explain to him the principles of Christianity. Sometimes while he was speaking, the sorcerer would interrupt him, saying, "Now, that I like;" or, "So the Great Spirit has taught me." It was evident that he had thought upon the subject and matured a religious system in his own mind, far more exalted than was conceived by any other of his people. But on one point, and a singular one, considering his profession, Brainerd was concerned to find him immovable. "He utterly denied the being of a devil, and declared that there was no such a creature known among the Indians of old times, whose religion he supposed he was attempting to revive." But the missionary said of him, that he seemed to be sincere, honest, and conscientious in his own way; and he must confess, that there was something in the temper and disposition of the man, which looked more like true religion, than any thing he had ever seen among the Indians before.

This man, however well disposed, could not have aided Brainerd, since the Indians, though they feared and respected him, looked upon him as needlessly zealous on the subject of their religion, and took special care to keep



out of his way. After several more ineffectual attempts, Brainerd was compelled to leave them without the least hope that any thing could be done. "Alas!" he says, "how deplorable is the state of the Indians on this river! The brief representations I have given of their notions and manners, is sufficient to show, that they are led captive by Satan at his will in the most eminent manner; and, methinks, might likewise be sufficient to excite the compassion and engage the prayers of pious souls for these their fellow-men, who sit in the regions of the shadow of death."

It was a great relief to Brainerd to return to his parish at Crossweeksung. Speaking of the difference between the two, he says, "to be with the former seems like being banished from God and all his people; to be with these is like being admitted into his family, and to the enjoyment of his Divine presence." On a former occasion he had baptized twenty-five, and now fourteen were added to the number. One of them was fourscore years of age. Two others were men of fifty, who had been remarkable, even among the Indians, for their vices; both were drunkards and one had even committed murder. He was not ready to believe in the indications of their reform, and thought it not unlikely, that, if sincere at the moment, they might afterwards return to their corruption. But, after a probation of several weeks, he was convinced that their change was real, and therefore admitted them to the ranks of the believers. In all this work, Brainerd assures us, there were none of those disorders which have sometimes prevailed; no faintings, screaming, nor convulsions. Neither were there visions, trances, and inspirations, which he regarded as signs of spiritual pride; and all these effects were produced without resorting to terror, since the mildest invitations of Christianity suited his disposition best, and he never employed any other.

There were those, as has been stated, who set themselves in violent opposition to his work of reform, which threatened to put an end to the knavery and oppression they exercised upon the Indians. Part of their hostility was directed against himself; representing him as a Ro-

man Catholic in disguise, a cry which, strange as it may seem, exposed him to considerable suspicion. But their most efficient plan was, to attract the Indians with ardent spirit, to entice them to drink, and to give them credit till they had run into debt far beyond their means to pay. This plan was resorted to on the present occasion. Finding that the Indians could not be alienated from their pastor, they brought in a heavy charge against them, and in default of payment laid claim to the lands on which they lived. Happily, Brainerd had it in his power to prevent this disgraceful consummation; he immediately advanced the sum of eighty-two pounds to discharge the debt, and for that time saved the community from destruction.

This work still went on successfully, and in some instances he succeeded beyond his warmest hopes. One of their sorcerers, an artful and able, but most profligate man, constantly attended his preaching, seeming at times a little affected, but generally exerting a powerful influence against him. So great was his influence and so bitter his opposition, that Brainerd confesses, "he often thought that it would be a great favor to the design of gospelizing the Indians, if God would take that wretch out of the world." But his resistance was more effectually removed; for in listening to the missionary, his conscience was awakened, and he began to condemn himself bitterly for what he had done to shut out his countrymen from the light of truth.

He remained for months in a state of self-reproach, laying aside all his enmity to religion, but finding no relief from conscience and its upbraidings. At last, Brainerd says, he seemed to settle down into a state of calmness, but had no hope that he could ever be forgiven. His conversation was energetic and expressive. Brainerd asked him, how he did? he answered, "'T is done, 'tis done, 'tis all done now;" on being asked what he meant, he said; "I can do nothing to save myself; 'tis done for ever; I can do no more." Brainerd asked, if he could not do something more rather than suffer; he replied, "I can do nothing more; my heart is dead."

We are assured, that not long after, he became a humble, devout, and affectionate Christian.

The whole number whom Brainerd baptized at Cross-weeksung amounted to seventy-seven. But these were only a part of those who were seriously impressed; for, knowing the Indian character, and fearing lest they should relapse into indifference when the first excitement passed away, he was extremely careful never to suffer any one to proceed so far, till a probation of some length had given a reasonable hope of his persevering. In order to confirm the good beginnings he had made, he established a school among them, and was assured by the instructor that he never taught English children who learned so rapidly, most of them being able in the course of three or four months to read freely in the Scriptures. They all, old and young, were ambitious to be acquainted with the English language, and made much more proficiency in it than he did in the Indian; so that, while he was never able to address them in their own dialect, without an interpreter, most of his audience were able to understand him when he was preaching in his own tongue, as he frequently did to the white men who came to his meetings.

The whole character of the community was entirely changed, in this surprising reform. In their domestic connexions, they abandoned their old practices, and divorce became disused among them. Before the change, drunkenness was a prevailing evil; the Indian became intoxicated as often as he could procure the means; but, though, for the reason already suggested, it was more easy to procure the means than in former times, the instances were extremely rare in which any took advantage of it. Formerly, they were very indifferent to the debts which they had contracted; but afterward they considered it a sacred duty and used every effort to discharge them. They showed a strong disposition to assume the habits and manners of civilized life, giving up the precarious resource of hunting to secure a living from the soil; and throwing off the rough and disorderly bearing of the Indian, they became peaceable, gentle, and humane as cultivated men.

The land at Crossweeksung was not so favorable to a permanent residence as some other parts of the tract belonging to the Indians. Considering it of great importance that they should have the means of living among themselves, so as not to be exposed to the temptation of trading with white men, he proposed to them to remove to a place called Cranberry, at the distance of fifteen miles. They complied without hesitation, and early in the spring of 1746, proceeded to the spot and broke up the ground for the labors of the year. He could not be constantly with them for want of a shelter; he therefore remained in a little hut which he had built at Crossweeksung; but visited them often and superintended their operations. When he came among them, the sound of the conch-shell called them from their labor, they joyfully assembled round him, and the ancient forest echoed with their morning and evening hymn.

He was now in much doubt as to what it was his duty to do. He seems to have understood the peculiar restlessness, which made a part of his nature. He had apprehended, he says, that it was the design of Providence that he should settle with the Society which he had gathered, and enjoy the blessing of repose, which his health so much required; but he was never "quite pleased with the thought of being settled and confined to one place." At times, the prospect of having leisure for study and meditation, of a fixed abode, and of the attachments which a wanderer cannot easily form, presented itself to his mind with irresistible attraction; but, when he thought of gaining souls among the heathen, and extending the borders of the Saviour's kingdom, this prospect diminished in brightness "like stars before the rising sun." On the whole, it seemed to him, that God had fitted him for a life of solitude and hardship, and that, never having enjoyed for any length of time the comforts of house and home, he was better able than others to renounce them. He therefore made up his mind, that this was the service to which he was called, and that he would be a hermit and pilgrim in the wilderness, to his dying hour.

It is easy to trace in his Diary a presentiment that the hour was not distant; he gives the texts from which he preached, and, though he says nothing concerning it, they seem chosen because so much in harmony with the state of his feelings. They were such as this, "Who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem;" and this, "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more." But, feeble as he was, he felt it to be his duty to make one more attempt to do something for the Susquehanna Indians; accordingly, he set out in the month of September, a time too near the autumn for such exposure as his journey required. He went, and made the most earnest efforts to persuade them to receive Christianity. At one time, he seemed to have hopes of success; but these were soon darkened, and he was constrained to acknowledge, that the time to reach their hearts was not yet come. Meantime his health was fearfully endangered; sometimes he slept in cabins, where the smoke affected his lungs in such a manner, that he was obliged to go out into the air; sometimes he slept abroad, with neither fire nor shelter, protected only by some branches which he had broken from the pines; he was repeatedly drenched with thunder-storms and chilled with the damps of night. Every night he was tormented with profuse cold sweats, and by day he was perpetually discharging blood from his lungs. It was evident enough, that the weary frame was worn out and must soon be in the dust. But in all his sufferings, he breathes not a single prayer that his days might be lengthened, nor even that he might be spared from his visitations of pain. When he returned to his own people, he found them at that moment engaged in prayer. He went in among them, and poured forth his offering of praise. "Oh that my soul were truly thankful for these renewed instances of mercy. Many hardships and distresses I endured in this journey; but the Lord supported me under them all."

## CHAPTER V.

*His increasing Weakness.—Quotation from Mr. Shepard.—His persevering Labor.—His Removal to Cranberry.—Communion Service.—His Sickness at Elizabethtown.—His Farewell to the Indians.—His Journey to Northampton.—President Edwards's Account of Him.—Miss Edwards.—His Visit at Boston.—Attentions paid Him.—His Return to Northampton.—Circumstances of his Death.—His Example.*

THE last journey to the Susquehanna seemed to put the finishing blow to the constitution of Brainerd. From that time, he was compelled to change his habits of life, not to prolong it, which now appeared hopeless, but to smooth his passage to the grave. Even his Diary, which he had formerly written under all circumstances, at home and abroad, in the cabins of Indians or by the light of the pine torch under the open sky, was now comparatively neglected; though he still took advantage of his short intervals of strength, to supply its deficiencies, and above all, to write down the history of his own heart.

But this was a dangerous indulgence, and a quotation from his biographer, President Edwards, which he applies to Brainerd, will show that he was of the same opinion. "Mr Shepard, in his 'Select Cases resolved,' under the first case says as follows; 'I have known one very able, wise, and godly, put upon the rack by him, who, envying God's people's peace, knows how to change himself into an angel of light; for it being his usual course, in the time of his health, to make a diary of his hourly life, and finding much benefit by it, he was in conscience pressed by the power and delusion of Satan, to make and take the same daily survey of his life in the time of his sickness; by means of which, he spent his

enfeebled spirits, and cast on fuel to fire his sickness. Had not a friend of his convinced him of his erroneous conscience misleading him at that time, he had murdered his body, out of conscience to save his soul, and to preserve his grace. And do you think that these were the motions of God's Spirit, which like those locusts, Rev. ix. 9, 10, had faces like men, but tails like scorpions and stings in their tails?" "

Though he was troubled all day with a violent cough and fever, and kept awake at night by violent pain, he still thought it incumbent on him to discharge his duty to his people. He discoursed to them, sitting in his chair, with his audience gathered round him. Every day, he mounted his horse, with the assistance of others, and rode over to the new settlement, about two miles distant from the place of his abode, to direct the movement of the Indians, who looked to him for direction in every thing, and were at that time employed in building a house in order that he might reside among them. Much of the time he was unable to walk, and he could never sit up through the whole day. But in spirit he was calm and composed; his melancholy seemed to haunt him no longer; he says, "Whether I should ever recover or not seemed very doubtful; but this was a comfort to me, that life and death did not depend upon my choice. I was pleased to think that He who is infinitely wise had the determination of this matter; and that I had no trouble to consider and weigh things on all sides, in order to make the choice whether I would live or die. I had little strength to pray, none to write or read, and scarce any to meditate; but through Divine goodness I could look death in the face, at all times with great composure, and frequently with sensible joy."

It seemed to be one of the greatest privileges to him to have a house of his own; and, in this state, he removed to the one which the Indians had made for him at Cranberry. This was the fourth of these humble habitations; the three first of which, at Kanaumeeek, Crossweeksung, and the Forks of the Delaware, he had reared with his own hands. Humble enough they were, in point of furniture and construction; still they were his own, and

were always kept sacred for his use by the Indians, who seem to have been sufficiently sensible of their obligations to him, and disposed to manifest their gratitude by all the small means in their power.

When the Sabbath came, he attempted to preach; and by great exertion was enabled to speak about half an hour. He then fainted with exhaustion, and, when conveyed to his bed, lay in a burning fever, and almost delirious, for many hours. He says, it was the most distressing turn he had ever suffered; but he was entirely at rest in mind, because he had made his utmost efforts to speak for God, and knew he could do no more. When he had not strength to ride, he lay on his bed and discoursed to his people on the subject which lay nearest his heart.

When the Lord's supper was to be attended, he was carried by some of his faithful Indians to the place of their meeting, where he administered the ordinance to forty of them, together with several of the whites from the neighboring settlements, who had begun to consider it a privilege to go even from a distance to hear him. "It seemed to be a season of Divine power and grace; and numbers rejoiced in God. My soul was refreshed, and my religious friends, of the white people, with me. After the sacrament, could scarcely get home, though it was but twenty rods. I was supported by my friends and laid on my bed, where I lay in pain till some time in the evening, and then was able to sit up and discourse with friends. Oh, how was this day spent in prayers and praises among my dear people! One might hear them all the morning before public worship, and in the evening till near midnight, praying and singing praises to God in one or other of their houses. My soul was refreshed, though my body was weak."

He soon became wholly unable to speak to his people, and, though extremely unwilling to leave them without a pastor, knowing how much they would be exposed, he felt that it was necessary to afford himself some relief, or, as he characteristically expresses it, "he was compelled to consume some time in diversions." He was almost



overcome by the interest that was manifested towards him; his friends came to see him, and he "was surprised and even ashamed" to find that some had come as many as thirty or forty miles for that purpose alone. He made his way toward Elizabethtown, intending to rest there a short time, and then prosecute his journey to New England; but he was disappointed. An hour or two after his arrival, he became so much worse, that he was compelled to take to his bed. A letter to his brother shows how he bore the trial.

"I had determined," said he, "to make you and my other friends in New England a visit this fall; partly from an earnest desire I have to see you and them, and partly with a view to the recovery of my health, which has, for more than three months past, been very much impaired. And, in order to prosecute this design, I set out from my own people about three weeks ago, and came as far as this place; where my disorder greatly increasing, I have been obliged to keep house ever since, until the day before yesterday; at which time I was able to ride half a mile, but found myself much tired with the journey. I have now no hopes of prosecuting my journey to New England this winter, supposing that my present state of health will by no means admit of it. Although I am by Divine goodness much better than I was some time ago, yet I have not strength now to ride more than ten miles a day, even if the season were warm and fit for me to travel in. My disorder has been attended with several symptoms of consumption; and I have at times been apprehensive that my great change was at hand; yet, blessed be God, I have never been affrighted, but on the contrary, at some times, much delighted with a view of its approach. Oh, the blessedness of being delivered from the clogs of flesh and sense, from a body of sin, and spiritual death! Oh, the unspeakable sweetness of being translated into a state of complete purity and perfection!" So far from lamenting that he was thus separated from his friends, without the prospect of ever seeing them again in this world, so far from expressing a wish that his condition had been in any respect ordered

otherwise, he breathes out a constant feeling, not merely of submission, but of gratitude and praise.

Though he did not consider his condition hopeless, it would appear from his own description of it, to have been sufficiently alarming. He had a violent cough and fever, together with an asthmatic affection, and his power of digestion seemed entirely gone. He was aware that his friends believed that he could not live many days; but he thought so little of death, that his mind dwelt on other subjects, and particularly on his own corruption. He was often saying, "Oh, that it were with me as in months past!" He wished he could have been taken in the midst of his usefulness, and before he had been under the necessity "of trifling away time in diversions." He was often sunk and discouraged at the reflection, though one would have thought that such diversions as he could enjoy in such a state, need not sit heavy on the soul.

Towards the end of March, 1747, he recovered strength to ride a short distance; and the first use he made of it was to visit his afflicted people, who had lamented his absence, and relieved his mind at times by sending good accounts of their condition to cheer his sick bed. The interview, however, to which he looked forward with so much interest, was a short one, and was his last. He visited them all in their houses, and gave each one the advice which he needed. Every one was melted to tears by his affectionate language; and they sorrowed most of all for the apprehension which they felt, though he did not speak it, that they should see his face no more. It was indeed an affecting separation. They looked on him, as the man to whom they were indebted for their elevation to light and happiness in this world, and their hope of salvation in another; and they feared, as he did, that after he had left them, they should degenerate in character, become the prey of their enemies, and at last be scattered to the winds.

He had some satisfaction in the circumstance that, at this time, his brother stepped forward to fill the place which he had left vacant, and to enter into his labors. No successor could have been so acceptable to him; and

the Indians received him, not as a stranger, but a familiar friend. For some years he continued in the station, and the interests of the mission prospered under his care.

Though it was evident to all that Brainerd's work was done, he continued to accuse himself of inaction. He was very much depressed on account of his misimprovement of time. He longed to spend time in fasting and prayer, but "alas!" he says, "I had not strength for these things." He says, "March 28th, was taken this morning with violent pains. They were extreme and constant for several hours, so that it seemed impossible for me, without a miracle, to live for twenty-four hours, in such distress. I lay confined to my bed the whole day, and in distressing pain all the former part of it; but it pleased God to bless means for the abatement of my distress. I was exceedingly weakened by this pain, and continued so for several days following; being exercised with a cough, fever, and nocturnal sweats. In this distressed case, death appeared agreeable to me. I looked on it as the end of toils, and an entrance into the place where the weary rest."

Though he could no longer go forth, as in former times, to meditate in the woods, and pray where there was no roof above him, the changes of nature still seemed to affect him as before. The beams of daybreak seemed to shine into his soul. "One morning, in secret meditation and prayer, the excellency and beauty of holiness, as a likeness to the glorious God, was so revealed to me, that I began to long earnestly to be in that world where holiness dwells in perfection." He rejoiced, that, in all his preaching, he had insisted, first and last, on that "holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord;" for he saw that "such a Godlike temper, in which the soul acts in a kind of concert with the Most High," and desires to be and to do every thing that is pleasing to Him, "this, and this only, will stand by the soul in a dying hour." In fact, through all his ministry, regeneration, progressive sanctification, supreme love to God, and living entirely to his glory, were the burden of his instructions; and, in this respect, he sees nothing that he

would alter, when he looks back from the borders of the grave.

In the month of April, he proceeded by slow stages toward New England, but was not able to reach Northampton, which appears to have been the chief place of his destination, till the 28th of May. Here, he was fortunate enough to enjoy the hospitality of President Edwards, who at that time was minister of the town. He had been acquainted with that eminent divine several years before, and had taken counsel from him in reference to his difficulty with the college at New Haven. Mr. Edwards had formed a high opinion of his excellence from his deportment on that occasion, and a more intimate acquaintance with him fully confirmed his former impressions. He bears emphatic testimony to Brainerd's domestic, social, and religious character. He found him remarkably instructive and improving, and at the same time singularly free, social, and entertaining, in his conversation; thoroughly meek and unpretending, but manly and independent in giving his opinion.

So far from having any thing morose, demure, or superstitious about him, he seemed to hold such things in contempt; and, instead of having those peculiarities of manner which might have been expected in one who had lived apart from civilized men, he became at once an easy and familiar member of the household, and of every company of which he was able to form a part. He was sometimes able to lead in the family devotions; and his manner of prayer was such as none could witness without being profoundly impressed; he had no studied eloquence of expression, and no excited warmth or boldness; he addressed the throne of grace, not with long, but with earnest supplications, such as became a creature of the dust addressing the Most High. In his prayers, he always had one petition, which showed his prevailing feeling; it was that "we might not outlive our usefulness in this world." In short, Mr. Edwards assures us, that he never knew him even to ask a blessing at table, without something in the matter and manner of the performance which powerfully arrested the attention. He

and his family considered it a privilege to have one so excellent and holy among them; and certainly Brainerd was indebted to them for such kind and generous attentions, as did much to relieve the sorrows and sufferings of his few remaining days.

He had come to Northampton for the purpose of consulting Dr. Mather concerning his disorder; who told him, that there were many evidences of his being in a confirmed consumption, and that he could not conscientiously give him the least encouragement that he would ever recover. He advised him, however, to ride as much as possible, as the only means of prolonging his life. The communication did not make the least impression upon him. He heard it with composure, and spoke of it with cheerfulness, as if it were what he expected and desired. In his Diary he does not even allude to it; he had been "dying daily" for years, and was not startled when he came so near the grave as to feel its gathering chill.

He was in doubt, when he received this advice, in what direction to go; but the family, to which he was indebted for so much kindness, did not leave their work undone. It was determined that he should go to Boston; and a daughter of Dr. Edwards, a girl of eighteen, who was an enthusiastic admirer of his character, and resembled him in self-devotion and the warmth of her religious affections, offered to go with him, to pay him those attentions which were essential to his comfort, and which no sister was near him to give. She was a person of fine mind and character. Brainerd often expressed to her parents his confidence in her piety, saying that she was more spiritual, self-denying, and earnest to do good, than any young person he ever knew. He said that he should meet her in heaven; and that meeting was nearer than he imagined; for it was but three months after his death, before she too was called to follow. She said, when dying, that for years, she had not seen the time when she had the least desire to live a moment longer, except for the sake of doing good, and filling up the measure of her duty. Such a being, though no

warmer sentiment mingled with her admiration of his character and her delight in his conversation, was the fit companion of his dying hours.

He arrived in Boston after a journey of four days, and was welcomed with great respect by all the ministers of the town; for by this time, his fame had spread, not only throughout his own country, but in foreign lands. A week after his arrival, he was suddenly reduced so low, that for much of the time he was speechless, not having strength to utter a word. His friends would often gather round his bed, expecting every moment to see him breathe his last. At first, his disorder was so violent that he had not the use of his reason; but after a day or two, he had more clearness of mind, and more perfect serenity of feeling, than in the happiest days of his life. He employed these bright moments in looking over the history of his life. Fully convinced that the "conformity of the soul to God" was the chief thing in religion, he examined himself, to know whether he had acted in the spirit of this love; and, though he could discover much selfishness, pride, and corruption in himself, he trusted that he had not been wholly enslaved by self-love, but that he had at times considered it his highest happiness to glorify and please his God. This feeling removed all apprehensions, set his heart at rest, and made him willing to depart.

At some of these times, when he had not strength to speak, he was able to sit up and write. Some of his letters, written at the time, are expressed with great energy, particularly one to his brother, who had succeeded him in his mission. To him he says, "I fear you are not sufficiently sensible how much false religion there is in the world. Many serious Christians and valuable ministers are too easily imposed upon by this false blaze. I likewise fear, that you are not sufficiently sensible of the dreadful effects and consequences of this false religion. Let me tell you, it is the devil transformed into an angel of light. It always springs up with every revival of religion, and stabs and murders the cause of God, while it passes current with well meaning

multitudes for the height of religion. Set yourself, my brother, to crush all appearances of this nature among the Indians, and never encourage any degrees of heat without light. Charge my people, in the name of their dying minister, yea, in the name of Him who was dead and is alive, to live and walk as becomes the gospel. Tell them how great the expectations of God and his people are from them, and how awfully they will wound God's cause, if they fall into vice; as well as fatally prejudice other poor Indians. Always insist, that their experiences are worthless, that their joys are delusive, though they may have been rapt into the third heaven in their own conceit by them, unless the main tenor of their lives be spiritual, watchful, and holy. In pressing these things, 'thou shalt both save thyself and those that hear thee.'"

As he had once been a victim of those delusions with which the land was then overspread, he made a point of testifying against them with his dying voice. Whenever he was able to speak, he wanted not hearers. Being constantly visited by men of eminence in Boston, who were very desirous to see and converse with one of whom they had heard so much, he also took the opportunity to urge upon them the claims of the mission in which he had been engaged. Nor was it without effect; every thing, which he suggested to them as likely to serve that purpose, was readily and cheerfully done. One tribute of honor, that was paid him, was appropriate and graceful. The Commissioners of the Society in London for propagating the Gospel in New England, having had a legacy intrusted to them for the support of two missionaries, waited upon him to ask his advice respecting a mission to the Six Nations; and, such was their confidence in him, that they submitted entirely to his direction the measures that should be adopted, and the men who should be employed.

His restoration from his weak state, so far as to be able to travel once more, was unexpected and surprising to himself and his friends. Several times his young companion wrote, that he had been delirious with ex-

treme pain, and the family sat up with him, supposing him to be in the agonies of death. He had hardly strength to draw his breath, and said he had no conception that any creature could retain life in a state so utterly exhausted. At this time he was visited by his brother, a student of Yale College, who came without expectation of finding him alive. He brought the intelligence that his favorite sister was dead, though he had never heard of her illness. Instead of receiving the news with sorrow, his whole feeling was, that he should soon be with her in heaven. Soon after he began to revive, to the astonishment of all about him, he made preparation to return to Northampton. Those who were less acquainted with the changes of consumption, that destroyer that tortures its victims by inspiring false hopes and then dashing them to pieces, began to entertain some expectation that he might live to be useful to mankind. But he knew better; he told them, that it was but a momentary restoration, and that he was as certainly a dead man, as if he had been shot through the heart.

One reason of his desire to leave Boston was, that he had heard of their intention to bury him with the respect due to the memory of one so distinguished. When he was leaving town, many gentlemen were prepared to show their respect to him by attending him upon the way; but he was so troubled with the thought of receiving such honors, that they were obliged to abandon the design. He bade his friends an affectionate and last farewell, and went forward on his return to Northampton, which he reached after a journey of five days. For some time after, he was able to ride out two or three miles a day, and to pray in the family; he spent much of his time in writing and instructive conversation, seeming never happy without the consciousness of being usefully employed. He continued thus till the middle of August, when he was no longer able to attend church, to ride out, nor to engage in the family prayers.

He continued to decline till the middle of September, when he felt as if he must make one more effort in behalf of his poor Indians, who were brought home to his mind



by a visit from his brother, their pastor, who was come to bid him farewell. He wrote to those gentlemen in Boston, whom he had interested in behalf of the Indians, telling them of the growth of the school at Cross-weeks, and the need of another teacher to instruct them in it. As soon as they received his letter, they met and cheerfully offered the sum of two hundred pounds for that purpose, beside contributing seventy-five pounds, also according to Brainerd's suggestion, to aid the mission to the Six Nations. At the same time, he selected two young men for that mission, according to the request of the Commissioners. He was not able to finish these letters with his own hand; but, when they were completed, he felt that his work was done.

So long as he was able to speak, he conversed with every member of the family, entreating each one to make preparation for that condition, and that hour, to which they saw that he was come. He had made himself dear to the younger children, and he used his influence with them, to induce them to prepare for what was before them; saying, "I shall die here, and here shall I be buried; you will see my grave, and then remember what I have said to you. I am going into eternity; it is sweet to me to think of eternity; the endlessness of it makes it sweet. But oh, what shall I say to the eternity of the wicked? I cannot speak of it, nor think of it; the thought is too dreadful. When you see my grave, then remember what I said to you while I was alive; then think within yourself, how the man, who lies in that grave, counselled me and warned me to prepare for death." "And this," said he to those around him, "is the last sermon you will ever hear me preach."

Shortly after, he was thought to be dying, by all about him, and he himself had the same impression. He seemed happy to think that his end was so nigh. He could not speak distinctly, but his lips appeared to move, and the person who sat nearest to him could hear him say "Come, Lord Jesus! come quickly. Oh, why is his chariot so long in coming?" After a time he recovered, and blamed himself for being too earnest to go.

On the morning of the Sabbath, when Miss Edwards came into the room, he looked on her with a smile, and said to her, "Are you willing to part with me? I am willing to part with you, though, if I thought I could not see you, and be happy with you in another world, I could not bear to part. I am willing to leave all my friends; I am willing to leave my brother, though I love him better than any creature living; I have committed him and all my friends to God, and can leave them with God." Seeing her with a Bible in her hands, he said "Oh, that dear book! The mysteries that are in it, and all the mysteries of God's providence, will be unfolded soon."

He died in extreme suffering, which he said was such, that the thought of enduring it a moment longer was insupportable. He entreated others to pray for him, that he might not be impatient under his torture. His brother having arrived, he conversed much with him respecting his people, showing, that in death their welfare was near his heart. His pain kept on increasing, and he said to those about him, that none could conceive the agony which the dying undergo. After suffering through the night, at the first beams of daybreak, he was released and permitted to depart in peace. It was his favorite hour, when his spirit had always risen in his morning devotions, and therefore the fittest time for its last ascension to its God.

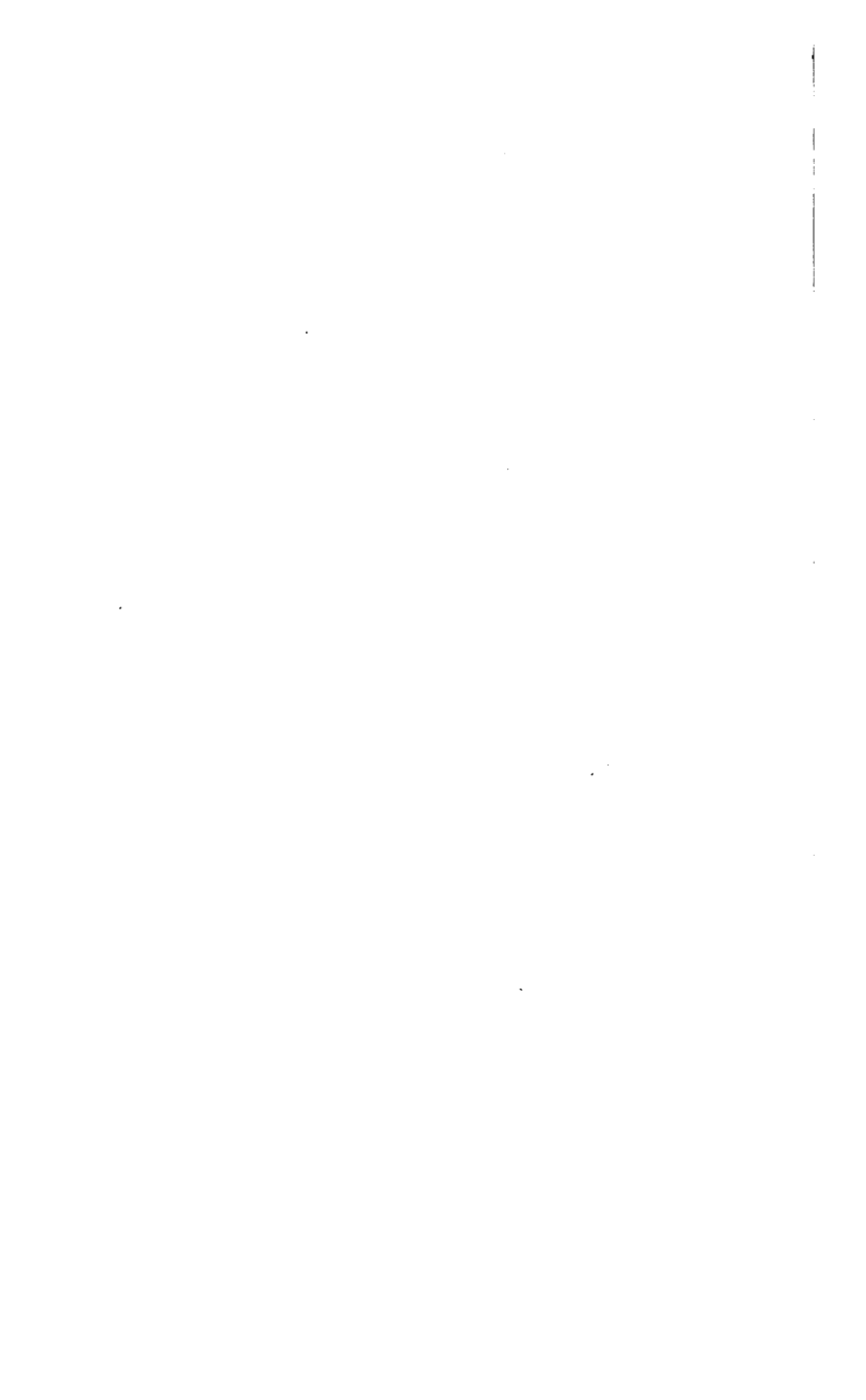
Brainerd died on the 9th of October, 1747, in the thirtieth year of his age, leaving a memory which time will not soon destroy. He was, as we are assured by one whose authority is decisive, a man of distinguished natural ability; and his energy of mind was far exceeded by his strength of heart. Wherever he preached he made a very deep impression; even in the most helpless days of his disease, when he was hardly able to arise to address an audience, his spirit kindled with his subject, his frame grew strong as he proceeded, the eloquence of his warm feeling inspired his tongue, and carried the hearts of hearers captive at his will.

His life is chiefly valuable as a record of what may be done by a man of feeble frame and melancholy tem-

perament, when animated in his labor by a prevailing sense of duty. His object seemed the most hopeless that could be imagined; even to undertake it seemed to require the full strength of a hardy frame, and the powerful impulse of sanguine expectation of success. He had neither of these to sustain him; his frame was dying daily from the time when he first went forth to his enterprise, and weariness, exhaustion, and exposure combined to press him down to the grave. As for success, he felt that the conversion of the Indians was not to be accomplished by any thing that man can do, but all depended on the Divine blessing; and, instead of being sure of receiving that blessing, he was often tempted to believe that the hour was not yet come. But he persevered under every discouragement and against all resistance, and produced results, which no one can reflect upon without surprise. He had that faith, which could remove mountains of opposition. Thus supported, his progress was a triumphal march; he was able to overcome the world while living, and to bid defiance to the grave when dying. To all, whose hearts beat with similar aspirations, his example says, "Never despair."



**LIFE**  
**OF**  
**ROBERT FULTON;**  
**BY**  
**JAMES RENWICK, LL. D.**



# ROBERT FULTON.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *Introduction.*

THE gratitude of mankind has not failed to record with honor the names of those, who have been the inventors of useful improvements in the arts. However quiet and unassuming they may have been in their lives; however strong the influence of prejudice, or interested opposition, in robbing them of all direct benefit from their discoveries; posterity has never failed to reverse the judgement of their contemporaries, and award the deserved, although perhaps tardy, meed of praise.

In the early history of our race we find, that such acknowledgements for important discoveries did not stop short of the attribution of Divine honors to the shades of the illustrious benefactors, who had advanced the progress of civilization, or increased the comforts and the conveniences of social life. Although veiled by the mist of unnumbered ages, and shrouded in the obscurities of fabulous narration, the records of authentic history disclose to us the time, when the inventors of letters and the plough were revered as divinities; and such honors did not cease to be rendered, until the influence of revealed religion put an end to all idolatrous worship among civilized nations. If there can ever be an excuse, in the absence of the Divine light, by which alone the path of true piety can be directed, for ascribing to the creature honors due to the Creator alone, that idolatry is the

least worthy of blame, which canonizes those who have proved themselves benefactors of our race.

In remote times, when the means of improving the faculties of the mind, which are now familiar to us, were wanting, to invent was the attribute of superior and lofty genius alone. As society made progress, and the means of education were extended, minds of a more ordinary character might be made to grasp some particular subject, to detect the deficiencies of existing processes, and study the means of improving them. Hence even inventions acknowledged to be original, and attended with the most happy consequences, no longer raise the author to such preeminence among his fellow men, or entitle him to so large a portion of posthumous renown.

At the present day, the stock of mechanical and practical knowledge, handed down by tradition, or preserved by means of the press, has become so enormous, that the most brilliant discovery in the useful arts bears but a small proportion to the whole extent of human knowledge. In remote times, the aids, which modern inventors derive from the records of the reasonings, the combinations, and even the abortive attempts of others, were wholly wanting; and if no one of the inventions of antiquity, when taken by itself, can rank in apparent importance with some of modern date, the former were in many instances far more conspicuous as steps in the progress of human improvement. In many cases, too, they must have produced an almost magical effect upon the comforts, the happiness, and even on the means of sustaining the lives, of men at the time.

While the rights of property, even of a material character, were imperfectly understood, and those of an immaterial nature unknown, he, who by his inventions had made himself a benefactor of his species, sought no other reward than public consideration and popular applause. Thus it may, and no doubt did, often happen, that the early improvers of the arts derived not only present reputation, but power and influence from their discoveries, as surely as they became entitled to the gratitude of posterity. The wants which grow upon man at each



step towards high civilization, were not yet made manifest; and it was neither necessary to keep processes in the arts secret, lest others should anticipate the due reward of their discovery, nor to seek the protection of laws for the security of an exclusive use to the inventor. Those who reaped the benefit of a new art, or enjoyed the advantages of an important discovery, were not called upon to pay in money for the use of them; and thus reaped all these benefits and advantages, without being compelled to furnish an equivalent. Honor, praise, and posthumous fame are of no cost to those who award them, and are, therefore, willingly allowed; while pecuniary compensation is often dispensed with a niggard hand, and the demand of it creates anger, or arouses opposition.

In the dawn of civilization, inventions were usually unexpected, and, although often calculated to supply the most pressing wants, excited surprise, because the wants themselves had not been perceived. At the present day, discoveries often appear as the almost inevitable result of previous improvements. Several projectors are oftentimes in pursuit of the same object, and this, one which the admitted wants of society point out as important to be attained; and he, who finally achieves success, is exposed to the envy, the competition, and the detraction of his less fortunate rivals. Inventions often derive their highest merit from their peculiar adaptation to the circumstances of the times; the very method, which comes at a given instant into immediate and successful operation, may have floated in the minds of earlier inquirers, or even have assumed the form of a working model; and yet, for the want of some collateral improvement, or through the absence of public demand, may have fallen into neglect, and been wholly forgotten. But, no sooner has the successful step in invention been taken, and at a fitting time, than all forgotten, neglected or abortive attempts at the same great end, are raked from the oblivion to which they had been consigned, and blazoned to the world as the types or originals of the improvement.

In addition to the annoyance and opposition, which may

thus arise from rivals and detractors, inventors are subjected to inconvenience from the policy of the legislative provisions by which it is attempted to secure their due reward. In most countries, this is made to assume the odious form of a monopoly; and the public feeling is thus speedily enlisted in opposition to the chartered or patented privileges. An expensive lawsuit, determined resistance, or cunning evasion, is often the sole reward, with which the most important inventions are attended during the lifetime of their authors.

The highest degree of merit is to be awarded, in the present age, to those, who, aware of the wants of a community, or of the world at large, set to themselves as a task, the discovery of the means of supplying these wants. In such pursuits, great learning and research must be united to high mechanical skill. All the attempts which have been previously made to attain the same object must be carefully studied; the causes of their failure inquired into; and whatever may exist in them of good and applicable, separated and recombined. Such inquiries often demand the united exertion of high ingenuity and profound science; yet those, who pursue them, taking for the foundation of their researches the discoveries and ineffectual attempts of others, often appear to be wholly wanting in ingenuity.

When, however, we examine to whom we are actually indebted for the practical benefits we enjoy, no possible comparison can exist between the merits of those who have thrown out the original, crude, and, in their hands, impracticable ideas, and those who, by a happy union of mechanical skill and scientific knowledge, have brought the plans to a successful application. Yet to this most valuable class of improvers of the arts it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign, by legal enactment, any adequate remuneration. There are few instances in which they have not been deprived of their just meed of recompense, if they have attempted to secure it by patent. The shades, which separate the incomplete and abortive attempt from the finished and successful invention, are often almost insensible, and admit of no technical speci-

fication. A remedy has at last been found for this defect. The calling of the civil engineer has taken its just station, in point of honor and emolument, among the learned professions; and it has become almost disreputable for its members to attempt to appropriate their mental riches by patent rights. They in return reap no inadequate reward in the direct emoluments to which their advice and services are now considered as entitling them.

In the days of the subject of our memoir, this profession was hardly known by name among us; its value was not understood by the community; and the proper means of rewarding it unknown. It was, therefore, his misfortune, that he sought, although ineffectually, to secure by exclusive legislative grants, and the monopoly held out by the patent laws, that reward which in a more happy state of things would have been attained in a more efficient and less obnoxious manner.

If we consider Fulton as an inventor, it may be difficult to say, in what exact particular his merits consist. As the blow of the mallet, by which the mighty mass of a ship of the line is caused to start upon its ways, in the act of launching, is undistinguishable among the numerous strokes by which that mass is gradually raised, so the minute particulars, in which his labors differ from former abortive attempts, may almost escape research. But, if we contemplate him in the light of a civil engineer, confidently building a finished and solid structure upon the incomplete foundation left by others, we must rank him among the first of his age, and place him, in the extent of his usefulness to mankind, as second to Watt alone.

## CHAPTER II.

*Birth of Fulton.—He chooses the Profession of a Painter.—His early Taste for Mechanics.—He settles in Philadelphia.—Embarks for England.—Resides in the Family of West.—Removes to Devonshire.*

ROBERT FULTON was born at Little Britain, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1765. His parents were respectable, although far from affluent; his father a native of Ireland, his mother descended from an Irish family. From his name it appears probable, that his more remote ancestors were of Scottish origin, which is in some degree confirmed by their profession of the Presbyterian faith. Fulton himself attached no importance to circumstances of birth, and took pride in being the maker of his own fortune, the probable founder of a family. Indeed, except so far as an elementary education is concerned, he was under little obligation to his progenitors; being left without patrimony at the death of his father, which occurred when he was but three years old.

Aware that he was to trust entirely to his own exertions, even for the means of subsistence, he cultivated from an early age a taste for drawing, in the hope of qualifying himself for the profession of a painter. To these exertions he was probably stimulated by the reputation and honors acquired by West, who, with advantages of education and connexions little superior to his own, had raised himself to the first rank, not only among the painters of England, but of the civilized world.

From a familiar acquaintance with his performances as an artist, at a later date, when he applied to the easel merely as a relaxation, it may be stated, that there is little doubt, that, had he devoted himself to the profession of painting, he must have become highly distinguished as a professor of that art.

Painting, although chosen by him as a profession, had less charms for him than the pursuits of practical mechanics; and it is recorded of him, that, while yet a mere child, he spent hours, usually devoted at that age to play, in the workshops of the mechanics of Lancaster.

At the early age of seventeen he proceeded to Philadelphia, for the purpose of practising as a painter of portraits and landscapes, and was so successful, as not merely to support himself, but to lay up a small amount of money. His first savings were devoted to the comfort of his widowed mother; and, before he reached the age of twenty-one, he had, by the joint aid of strict economy and persevering labor, acquired sufficient funds to purchase a small farm in Washington county, Pennsylvania.

The journey to that region, for the purpose of establishing his mother upon this purchase, opened new views to him for the occupation of his future life. His patrons in Philadelphia had been among the humbler classes; and, although he must have sighed for an opportunity of visiting those regions in which alone good models of taste, and specimens of excellence in painting, were then to be found, yet, friendless and alone, he could hardly have hoped that such aspirations would be realized.

On his return, however, from Washington county, in the unrestrained intercourse of a watering-place, he found acquaintances, who were both able to appreciate his promise as an artist, and to facilitate his plans of improving himself as a painter. By these he was advised to proceed immediately to England, and throw himself upon the protection of West; and the means of favorable introduction to that distinguished artist were tendered and supplied. It is to be recorded to the honor of West, that he was the zealous and efficient promoter of the interests of all his countrymen, who desired to study the art in which he himself excelled. To Fulton even more than usual liberality was vouchsafed; he was at once invited to become an inmate of the house of the great artist, and remained his guest and pupil for several years.

The wealth and taste of the British nobility have gradually accumulated in that island many of the finest specimens of the pictorial art. Although many of these are now assembled in collections at their residences in the metropolis, a still greater number are distributed through the numerous and magnificent baronial residences, with which the agricultural regions of England abound. At the period of which we speak, the formation of collections in London had hardly been thought of; and he who wished to profit by the treasures which the superiority of British wealth had drawn from the continent, or which munificent patronage had commanded from the artists themselves, was compelled to perambulate the kingdom.

In order to avail himself of these scattered riches, Fulton, on leaving the family of West, procured introductions to the stewards and agents to whom the care of their estates and collections are committed by the nobility, and commenced a tour. We find him, in consequence, a short time after he left London, at Exeter, in the county of Devon. He was for a time domiciliated, as we have been informed, at Powderham Castle, the chief seat of the Courtenays. This family draws its proud lineage from the Merovingian kings, the emperors of Constantinople, and the Plantagenets. In wedding an heiress of the family, a Capet assumed the name as more distinguished than his own; and the pretensions of the English branch to the throne of that kingdom, roused the vengeful jealousy of the Tudors. The fatal consequences of such lofty claims had confined the ambition of the succeeding possessors of Powderham to the cultivation of the arts, and the castle became filled with masterpieces.

Fulton seems to have entitled himself to the patronage of the possessor of the title. He at any rate was for a time an inmate of this magnificent baronial residence, and was occupied in copying the pictures it contains. Affecting on their own domains a state little less than that of royalty, the barons of Powderham left the entertainment of guests undistinguished by rank to their stew-

ard, himself a gentleman by connexion and education. It is, therefore, no derogation to Fulton, however repugnant it may be to our notions of equality, that, in enjoying the advantages which this rich collection afforded him as an artist, he was the associate, not of the lord of the mansion, but of one whom we may consider as his upper servant. Envy has not failed to point at this period of Fulton's life as a matter of reproach, and to treat him as having been at this time the companion of menials, if not actually so himself.

Whatever may have been the nature of Fulton's obligations to this noble family, he did not hesitate to express his gratitude for them; and, in the height of his subsequent reputation, he had an opportunity of repaying them. The heir of the title and the fortunes of the Courtenays became a refugee in our land, under circumstances of disgrace and humiliation, even more terrible than those which led to the assumption of the mournful motto of his race.\* Suspected and accused of an infamous crime, his birth and title, which have in many other instances served as passports even for vice and frivolity to American hospitality, did not avail him, and every door was closed against him except that of Fulton. The feelings of Fulton were probably those, which lead the benevolent to minister to the comforts, and to soothe the mental anguish of the last hours of the condemned criminal; but, in the instance we allude to, it required not only the existence of such feelings, but a high degree of courage, to exercise them, in the face of a popular impression, which, whether well or ill founded, was universally entertained.

\* *Ubi lapsus, quid feci?*

## CHAPTER III.

*His Acquaintance with the Duke of Bridgewater and Earl Stanhope.—His Removal from Devonshire, and Residence in Birmingham.—He abandons Painting for the Profession of an Engineer.—His first Idea of a Steamboat communicated to Stanhope.—He makes the Acquaintance of Watt.*

FULTON remained for two years in the neighborhood of Exeter, where his intelligence and ability obtained for him many useful and interesting acquaintances. Among these, the most important were the Duke of Bridgewater and Earl Stanhope. The first of these noblemen fills a large space in the history of the internal improvements of Great Britain; and he was in fact the father of the vast system of inland navigation, which has spread its ramifications over every accessible part of that island. Born to the inheritance of an extensive estate, abounding in mineral wealth, he was, notwithstanding, comparatively poor because that estate was unimproved; and his mines were useless, because inaccessible.

At that moment, no better mode of supplying the growing town of Manchester with coal had been introduced, than to convey it in sacks upon pack-horses. The Duke of Bridgewater was not slow to perceive the vast advantages which might be derived from the introduction of a better and cheaper mode of carriage. English writers have not hesitated to ascribe the plans of canal navigation, which he adopted and carried into successful operation, to the unassisted native genius of his engineer, Brindley. Yet it cannot be believed that the Duke was wholly ignorant of the celebrated canal of Languedoc, in which the structure of canals and all their accessory works had attained, in the hands of Riquet, the projector, and by the improvements of Vauban, a degree



of perfection, which has hardly been surpassed even at the present day. It is not within the limits of our subject to inquire, whence the ideas, which directed the Duke's operations, were derived. Suffice it to say, that, after a series of appalling difficulties, after having been brought to the verge of ruin, and after having narrowly escaped being confined as a lunatic, he succeeded in his enterprise.

At the moment that Fulton made his acquaintance, the Duke was in the full enjoyment of the vast wealth, which his success had created, a wealth at that time unexampled in annual amount, even in Great Britain; and of the high reputation, which, so often denied to talent and genius, while struggling with difficulties, is liberally ascribed to successful projectors. His canals became the models for similar enterprises, and himself, from his rapid accumulation of capital, the largest proprietor of many new navigation companies. It appears to have been at the instance of this distinguished man, that Fulton abandoned painting as a profession, and entered into that of a civil engineer. We at any rate next find him residing in Birmingham, and engaged in the construction of the canals then making in that vicinity, by which that great toy-shop was brought into communication with the ports of London, Liverpool, and Bristol. Fulton's name does not, however, figure upon the list of the principal engineers engaged in these important works; and he, no doubt, filled no more than a subordinate station, as might, indeed, have been anticipated, from his inexperience and youth.

With Earl Stanhope, Fulton's intercourse was still more intimate, and probably of an earlier date. This nobleman was endowed by nature with high mechanical talent, which had been improved by an education very different from the mere classical routine to which the youth of the higher classes in Great Britain are usually confined. Had he been impelled by the stimulus of necessity, there is little doubt, that he might have become distinguished as a successful inventor. As it was, he exhibited practical skill as a canal engineer; but here

his reputation faded before the prior claims of the Duke of Bridgewater; while his inventions remained incomplete, and few of them have been carried into effect.

Among other projects, this peer entertained the hope of being able to apply the steam engine to navigation, by the aid of a peculiar apparatus, modelled after the foot of an aquatic fowl. On communicating this plan to Fulton, the latter saw reason to doubt its feasibility; and, in consequence, addressed a letter to his Lordship, in which the very views were suggested, that were afterwards successful upon the Hudson. This letter was written in 1793, immediately before the removal of Fulton from Devonshire to Birmingham. The justice of Fulton's objections to the plans of Earl Stanhope was afterwards demonstrated in an effectual experiment made by the latter in the London docks. It is to be regretted that this experiment had not been made before he received the communication of Fulton. His Lordship might then have received it with the same feelings, which Chancellor Livingston afterwards exhibited, when marked failure had attended his own plans. In this event, the important invention of a successful steamboat might have been given to the world ten years earlier than its actual introduction. Although prejudiced in favor of his own invention, Earl Stanhope did not fail to appreciate the ingenuity of Fulton, and became his warm friend on a subsequent occasion, when his influence with the British ministry enabled him to aid Fulton's views.

Fulton's residence in Birmingham brought him into communication with Watt, who had just succeeded in giving to his steam engine that perfect form, which fits it for universal application as a prime mover. That Fulton became intimately acquainted, not only with Watt himself, but with the structure of his engine, we learn from two facts in his subsequent life; for we find him entering into a confidential correspondence with that great improver of the application of steam, and actually superintending the construction of an engine, in a place where no aid was to be obtained.

To have become favorably known to such men as

Bridgewater, Stanhope, and Watt, and to have received the patronage of the first of them, is no small proof of the talent and acquirements of Fulton at an early age. Those, who know the artificial structure of British society, understand the nice distinctions by which the several degrees of rank are separated from each other; and, although it is no doubt true, that those who are possessed of the highest rank are not deterred from associating with any persons in whom they may take an interest, by the fear of losing caste, which has so powerful an influence upon those whose position in society is not firmly established, still the higher circles are fenced in by artificial barriers, which, in the case of an unfriended and humble foreigner, can be forced only by obvious merit. When, therefore, the detractors of Fulton's fame venture to characterize his productions as wanting in originality, "either of matter or manner," we may confidently appeal to this part of his early history for the refutation of their aspersions.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*His Plan of an Inclined Plane.—Work on Inland Navigation.—His Torpedo.—His Removal to France, and Residence there.*

THE residence of Fulton in Birmingham is distinguished from the other parts of his early history by a number of patented inventions and several published works. The more level parts of Great Britain had now been rendered accessible by canals, and some projects were entertained for penetrating by the mode of artificial navigation into the mountainous regions.

In the primitive form of canals, of which a specimen still exists in the great canal of China, two methods of passing from one level to another had been practised,—

the sluice and the inclined plane. An addition, probably growing out of an accidental circumstance, had converted the former into a lock; but the inclined plane had remained without improvement. It is, however, obvious, that, could it be rendered self-acting, as the lock is, it was susceptible of far more extended application. The lock is necessarily limited to small changes of level, while the inclined plane will adapt itself to every possible variation in the surface of the ground. If, then, locks be taken as the basis of a plan of inland navigation, it will necessarily be confined to countries of little elevation; while one based upon the inclined plane may overcome considerable elevations.

Impressed with the advantages which would attend the introduction of the inclined plane in inland navigation, Fulton applied his fertile ingenuity to plan one. For this he took out a patent, in the year 1793, and in 1796 embodied it with other projects of a similar nature in a work on Inland Navigation. At the time when he wrote, the engineers of England were engaged in reducing their canals to the smallest practical dimensions; for it had been ascertained, that the capacity for business of the large canals far exceeded any trade, which had yet made its appearance upon them. The object of Fulton's work appears to have been to show, that canals, of dimensions below the smallest which had yet been proposed, were capable of being successfully applied, and that such canals were not necessarily limited to countries of small differences of level. Considered in reference to this object, the work is a masterly one; but, if we test it by inquiring, whether canals of such small dimensions are adapted to general purposes, we shall find, that his argument rests upon an insufficient foundation. This work is, therefore, to be quoted as exhibiting a high degree of originality, ingenuity, and talent, but as inapplicable to any useful purpose.

The war of the French revolution had broken out a short time before Fulton's removal to Birmingham. In him, as a native of a republican country, and deriving his earliest impressions from the events of the struggle be-

tween America and the mother country, there is little doubt that the cause of the French democracy must have excited a powerful sympathy. Such sympathy was felt not only by a majority of the American people, but by a large portion of the population of Great Britain. The crimes and excesses, with which that revolution was stained, speedily excited the indignation of Britons; and Pitt was enabled to apply that indignant feeling to the support of the war in which the two rival nations were speedily engaged.

It is probable that a similar revulsion of feeling took place in the breast of Fulton. But, in the year 1796, the excesses of the French revolution had ceased, while, at the same moment, a system of aggression and insolent exertion of her power upon the ocean, had been manifested by Great Britain. By this system, the United States were the greatest sufferers. Our flag afforded but little protection for property, and none for personal liberty, against the license of British naval commanders. Fulton shared deeply in the resentment which this conduct excited in every American breast; a resentment which finally led to the war of 1812. The power of Great Britain resting to so great an extent upon her naval supremacy, the thoughts of Fulton were turned to the discovery of a method, by which the boasted skill of her seamen might be set at nought, and her numerous vessels rendered inefficient in maintaining her maritime superiority. Fulton was old enough to have heard of the abortive attempt of Bushnell upon the British fleet in the harbor of Philadelphia; and, although this had failed, from being planned upon erroneous principles, enough of alarm had been excited, and such a degree of confusion caused, as to encourage him to attempt to improve upon it. It was obvious, that no encouragement was to be hoped from the government of Great Britain towards experiments upon a mode of warfare whose success would destroy her principal arm; nor could Fulton with any propriety have asked aid from it. It was otherwise with France. The insolence, with which she also invaded the rights of neutrals, had not yet been clearly man-

ifested; and Fulton, with many others, saw in her Directory the champions of the liberty of the seas. As such, he felt justified in offering the fruits of his ingenuity to that government. Abandoning, therefore, his pursuits as a civil engineer, he proceeded to Paris, for the purpose of completing the detail of his plan, and of seeking assistance to bring it to the test of experiment.

To his instrument for destroying vessels of war, he gave the name of the *Torpedo*. It consisted of an oval copper case, charged with gunpowder. To this he proposed to attach a lock, regulated by clock-work, which, after any required time, might cause the lock to spring, and thus communicate fire to the charge.

It would be painful to follow Fulton through that period of life in which he appeared under the character of a projector, soliciting the patronage, first of the government of France, and subsequently, when he had been dismissed with contumely by Napoleon, from that of England. Without venturing to give an opinion on the influence that his Torpedo might have had upon warfare, it may be safely stated, that, in the hands of bold and determined men, it might be applied in a position where it would certainly act, and in acting insure the destruction of the stoutest vessel. As he himself well argues, "its use is attended with risks as great, but not exceeding those to which the crew of a fire-ship are exposed; and there are innumerable instances where these dangers have been boldly confronted." His plan has the advantage over the fire-ship of being less expensive; but, like that, is attended with such uncertainty, that it cannot be surely relied upon, and thus cannot be trusted to as the only means of offence.

His subsequent attempts to bring the Torpedo into use, during the war with Great Britain, and for the defence of his native country, although entertained with greater courtesy, were equally fruitless; and, in the opposition of our own naval officers, he met with obstacles as great, as had stood in his way in the *bureaux* of France, and the public offices in England. It must, therefore, be admitted, that we cannot cite this invention

as one which has been brought into successful action. Still, if the fears of an enemy may be received in proof of the value of the Torpedo, it would be easy to cite the sleepless nights and anxious days of many British commanders, who felt, that the vicinity of Fulton's operations was attended with dangers which could only be prevented by unremitting diligence and attention.

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## CHAPTER V.

*His Inventions while residing in Birmingham.—His Letters to Washington, and the Governor of Pennsylvania.—His Submarine Vessel.—Experiment with it at the Mouth of the Seine.—He aids in introducing the Panorama into France.*

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the more important of the subjects, which attracted the attention of Fulton, and of which his residence in France was the epoch, we have to mention some other fruits of his ingenuity. While residing in Birmingham, he took out patents for a mill for sawing marble; a method of spinning flax and making ropes; and of excavators for digging canals. If none of these was introduced into extensive use at the time, and if the latter object still remains a desideratum in practical mechanics, the two former at least served as steps in the career of improvement, and have been guides and landmarks to subsequent inventors. These patents bear date in 1794.

Anxious that his views in respect to small canals might be productive of benefit to his native country, a copy of his work on Inland Navigation was transmitted to General Washington, who still held the reins of the government of the United States. This was accompanied by a letter, explanatory of the advantages by which the introduction of his system into America might be attended.

With the work itself was published a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in which the same views were enforced, and a comparison drawn between the relative advantages of canals and turnpike roads.

Although the letter to Washington was honored with a reply, in which the merit of Fulton's inventions was admitted, no action followed; for the general government was at that time confined by the necessity of economy to a system of non-interference with local improvements; and it is useless to speculate upon what might have been done by so enlightened an administration, had it possessed the overflowing treasury, which the churlish policy of one of his successors locked up from public use. The letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania produced even less effect. That State adhered pertinaciously to its plan of turnpike roads; a plan, which, if it did create a better mode of communication than had before been enjoyed, was not less expensive than canals on Fulton's plan would have been, and far less beneficial.

Pennsylvania, after a lapse of more than forty years, has at last seen the mistake which was then committed, and is now engaged in the creation of a system of internal improvement, adapted to the great increase which has taken place in its wealth in the interim. But, by this very change, the whole of the capital invested in turnpike roads will be at once rendered unproductive; while, had small canals formed the original scheme, their gradual enlargement to meet the growing wants of the community might have been defrayed out of the income, and the whole capital preserved. It is not probable, indeed, that Fulton's own inventions, or canals of so small a size as he proposed, would have effected the desired object. They in fact could have been useful only in a few limited cases; but that the investment of the funds which were expended upon turnpikes, in canal navigation, would have been more conducive to the prosperity of the country, is a fact, which will not now be questioned. Fulton, also, during his residence in Birmingham, wrote several tracts on subjects of a general political nature; but, as these do not appear to have been published, or, if published, to



have attracted more than an ephemeral notice, it is unnecessary that we should cite them by name.

In such occupations the time of Fulton was spent until he determined to proceed to France, for the purpose of laying his system of Torpedo warfare before the government of that country. The investigations, into which he entered for the purpose of completing this system, led him to undertake the construction of a vessel, which might be capable of moving either at or beneath the surface of the water. So far as the power of easily rising to the surface, and descending at pleasure to any required depth, is a valuable object, this attempt was attended with complete success. But the difficulty of governing a submarine vessel, and of giving to it such velocity as will enable it to move rapidly from place to place, or even to stem a rapid current, is insuperable by the aid of any prime mover which has hitherto been applied. This difficulty is of the same character as that which opposes the management of balloons; and, if any mode of directing the one should be discovered, the power, which will be efficient in the one case, will probably be applicable to the other.

In a boat of this construction, the passage over the wide and stormy estuary of the Seine was safely and easily accomplished, and Fulton with his assistants remained several hours under water. In this position they were supplied with a sufficient quantity of wholesome air, not only for their own respiration, but for lights also. But the actual passage may be said to have been performed wholly on the surface of the water; for the progress, after the whole vessel was immersed, was so slow as to have no material effect upon the passage. This experiment, then, confirmed the truth of the received opinion, that a body wholly immersed in a single fluid cannot carry the machinery necessary for its own propulsion, and that the valuable properties of ships are due to the circumstances of their position, partly supported upon one fluid, and having the greater part of their bulk buoyed up into a fluid of a different character, and less density. In this position they are easily guided,

and the prime movers act with great energy in their propulsion.

The account, which Fulton occasionally gave his friends, of his experiments at the mouth of the Seine, was full of thrilling interest. Those, who, in calm weather, and in a land-locked harbor, have descended, for the first time, in a common diving-bell, have not failed to experience the sensations of sublimity which such an enterprise is calculated to awaken. But in this, assured of a supply of air by a perfect and efficient machinery, supported by strong chains, and confident in the watchful attention of an active crew, trained to obey a set of preconcerted signals, the danger is trifling, or rather can hardly be said to exist. How far such sensations must have been increased, may be imagined, when it is considered, that, in the experiment of Fulton, all the means of safety, and even of insuring respiration, were shut up with him in a narrow space, and that any failure in the action of his machinery would have been followed by speedy suffocation, or by the loss of the power of ever again revisiting the light of day.

Fulton, on leaving England for the continent, carried with him some of the improvements in the arts, which had appeared in that country after all commercial intercourse with France had ceased. A short time before, a wealthy American had become the purchaser of a part of the national domain, consisting of a large piece of ground in a central position in the city of Paris. Upon this, he was in the act of erecting a number of shops, arranged along the sides of covered passages. In addition, at the suggestion, it is believed, of Fulton, two lofty circular buildings were constructed, for the exhibition of Panoramas. These still exist, and are applied to their original purpose. It has also been stated, that, in the first exhibitions with which they were opened, much of the attraction was due to the good taste and graphic skill of the subject of our memoir.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Steam Navigation.—Watt.—Evans.—Fitch.—Rumsey.  
—Miller, of Dalswinton.—Symington.*

THE art with which Fulton's name is inseparably connected, as the principal agent in its creation, is that of navigation by steam. That this subject had attracted his attention at an early period, we have already seen; it now remains for us to inquire in what state he found it, and to what extent he carried it.\*

\* In the first volume of Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, &c., published at Madrid, in 1825, there is a remarkable statement, in which the invention of the steamboat is ascribed to a Spaniard, three hundred years ago. The particulars were derived from the public archives at Simancas. The following is a translation of a part of this statement.

"Blasco de Garay, a sea captain, exhibited to the emperor and king, Charles the Fifth, in the year 1543, an engine, by which ships, and vessels of the larger size, could be propelled, even in a calm, without the aid of oars or sails. Notwithstanding the opposition, which this project encountered, the emperor resolved, that an experiment should be made, as in fact it was with success, in the harbor of Barcelona, on the 17th of June, 1548.

"Garay never publicly exposed the construction of his engine; but it was observed, at the time of the experiment, that it consisted of a large caldron or vessel of boiling water, and a movable wheel attached to each side of the ship. The experiment was made on a ship of two hundred tons, arrived from Colibre to discharge a cargo of wheat at Barcelona; it was called the *Trinity*, and the captain's name was Peter de Scarza.

"By order of Charles the Fifth, and the prince Philip the Second, his son, there were present at the time, Henry de Toledo, the governor Peter Cardona, the treasurer Ravago, the vice-chancellor Francis Gralla, and many other persons of rank, both Castilians and Catalonians; and, among others, several sea captains witnessed the operation, some in the vessel, and others on the shore. The emperor and prince, and others with them, applauded the engine, and especially the expertness with which the ship could be tacked. The treasurer, Ravago, an enemy to the project, said it would move two leagues in three hours. It was very complicated and expensive, and exposed to the constant

Until Watt had completed the structure of the double-acting condensing engine, the application of steam to any but the single object of pumping water, had been almost impracticable. It was not enough, in order to render it applicable to general purposes, that the condensation of the water should take place in a separate vessel, and that steam should itself be used, instead of atmospheric pressure, as the moving power; but it was also necessary, that the steam should act as well during the ascent, as during the descent, of the piston. Before the method of paddle wheels could be successfully introduced, it was in addition necessary, that a ready and convenient mode of changing the motion of the piston, into one continuous and rotary, should be discovered. All these improvements upon the original form of the steam engine are due to Watt, and he did not complete their perfect combination before the year 1786.

Evans, who, in this country, saw the possibility of constructing a double-acting engine, even before Watt, and had made a model of his machine, did not succeed in obtaining funds to make an experiment upon a large scale before 1801. We conceive, therefore, that all those who projected the application of steam to vessels before 1786, may be excluded, without ceremony, from

danger of bursting the boiler. The other commissioners affirmed that the vessel could be tacked twice as quick as a galley, served by the common method, and that, at its slowest rate, it would move a league in an hour. The exhibition being finished, Garay took from the ship his engine, and, having deposited the wood work in the arsenal of Barcelona, kept the rest himself.

"Notwithstanding the difficulties and opposition thrown in the way by Ravago, the invention was approved; and, if the expedition, in which Charles the Fifth was then engaged, had not failed, it would undoubtedly have been favored by him. As it was, he raised Garay to a higher station, gave him a sum of money (200,000 maravedies) as a present, ordered all the expenses of the experiment to be paid out of the general treasury, and conferred upon him other rewards.

"Such are the facts collected from the original registers, preserved in the royal archives at Simancas, among the public papers of Catalonia, and those of the secretary of war for the year 1543."—See *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. p. 488.

the list of those entitled to compete with Fulton for the honors of invention. No one, indeed, could have seen the powerful action of a pumping engine, without being convinced, that the energy, which was applied so successfully to that single purpose, might be made applicable to many others; but those, who entertained a belief, that the original atmospheric engine, or even the single-acting engine of Watt, could be applied to propel boats by paddle wheels, showed a total ignorance of mechanical principles. This is more particularly the case with all those whose projects bore the strongest resemblance to the plan, which Fulton afterwards carried successfully into effect. Those, who approached most nearly to the attainment of success, were they, who were farthest removed from the plan of Fulton. His application was founded on the properties of Watt's double-acting engine, and could not have been used at all, until that instrument of universal application had received the last finish of its inventor.

In this list of failures, from proposing to do what the instrument they employed was incapable of performing, we do not hesitate to include Savary, Papin, Jonathan Hulls, Perier, the Marquis de Jouffroy, and all the other names of earlier date than 1786, whom the jealousy of the French and English nations have drawn from oblivion, for the purpose of contesting the priority of Fulton's claims. The only competitor, whom they might have brought forward, with some shadow of plausibility, is Watt himself. No sooner had that illustrious inventor completed his double-acting engine, than he saw, at a glance, the vast field of its application. Navigation and locomotion were not omitted; but, living in an inland town, and in a country possessing no rivers of importance, his views were limited to canals alone. In this direction, he saw an immediate objection to the use of any apparatus, of which so powerful an agent as his engine should be the mover; for it was clear, that the injury, which would be done to the banks of the canal, would prevent the possibility of its introduction. Watt, therefore, after having conceived the idea of a steamboat, laid it aside, as unlikely to be of any practical value.

The idea of applying steam to navigation was not confined to Europe. Numerous Americans entertained hopes of attaining the same object; but, before 1786, with the same want of any reasonable hopes of success. Their fruitless projects were, however, rebuked by Franklin; who, reasoning upon the capabilities of the engine in its original form, did not hesitate to declare all their schemes impracticable; and the correctness of his judgment is at present unquestionable.

Among those, who, before the completion of Watt's invention, attempted the structure of steamboats, must be named with praise Fitch and Rumsey. They, unlike those whose names have been cited, were well aware of the real difficulties, which they were to overcome; and both were the authors of plans, which, if the engine had been incapable of farther improvement, might have had a partial and limited success. Fitch's trial was made in 1783, and Rumsey's in 1787. The latter date is subsequent to Watt's double-acting engine; but, as the project consisted merely in pumping in water, to be afterwards forced out at the stern, the single-acting engine was probably employed. Evans, whose engine might have answered the purpose, was employed in the daily business of a mill-wright; and, although he might, at any time, have driven these competitors from the field, took no steps to apply his dormant invention.

Fitch, who had watched the graceful and rapid way of the Indian pirogue, saw in the oscillating motion of the old pumping engine the means of impelling paddles, in a manner similar to that given them by the human arm. This idea is extremely ingenious, and was applied in a simple and beautiful manner; but the engine was yet too feeble and cumbrous to yield an adequate force; and, when it received its great improvement from Watt, a more efficient mode of propulsion became practicable, and must have superseded Fitch's paddles, had they even come into general use.\*

\* Fitch had sanguine expectations of success; and it appears by the following extract from a letter to Dr. Franklin, dated October 12th,

In the latter stages of Fitch's investigations, he became aware of the value of Watt's double-acting engine, and refers to it as a valuable addition to his means of success; but it does not appear to have occurred to him, that, with this improved power, methods of far greater efficiency, than those to which he had been limited before this invention was completed, had now become practicable.

When the properties of Watt's double-acting engine became known to the public, an immediate attempt was

1785, that he anticipated some of the important advantages of steam navigation, which have since been realized. He says, in writing to Dr. Franklin,

"The subscriber begs leave to trouble you with something further on the subject of a steamboat. His sanguine opinion in favor of its answering the purpose, to his utmost wishes, emboldens him to presume this letter will not give offence. And, if his opinion carries him to excess, he doubts not but your Excellency will make proper allowance.

"It is a matter, in his opinion, of the first magnitude, not only to the United States, but to every maritime power in the world; and he is full in the belief, that it will answer for sea voyages, as well as for inland navigation, in particular for packets, where there may be a great number of passengers. He is also of opinion, that fuel for a short voyage would not exceed the weight of water for a long one, and it would produce a constant supply of fresh water. He also believes, that the boat would make head against the most violent tempests, and thereby escape the danger of a lee shore; and that the same force may be applied to a pump, to free a leaky ship of her water. What emboldens him to be thus presuming, as to the good effects of the machine, is, the almost omnipotent force by which it is actuated, and the very simple, easy, and natural way by which the screws or paddles are turned to answer the purpose of oars."

Rittenhouse, after seeing repeated experiments, entertained a favorable opinion of Fitch's machine, as is proved by the following certificate to that effect, given more than two years after the above letter was written.

*"Philadelphia, 12 December, 1787.*

"These may certify, that the subscriber has frequently seen Mr. Fitch's steamboat, which, with great labor and perseverance, he has at length completed; and has likewise been on board when the boat was worked against both wind and tide, with a very considerable degree of velocity, by the force of steam only. Mr. Fitch's merit, in constructing a good steam engine, and applying it to so useful a purpose, will, no doubt, meet with the encouragement he so justly deserves from the generosity of his countrymen, especially those who wish to promote every improvement of the useful arts in America.

*"DAVID RITTENHOUSE."*

made to apply it to navigation. This was done by Miller, of Dalswinton, who employed Symington as his engineer. Miller seems to have been the real author; for, as early as 1787, he published his belief, that boats might be propelled by employing a steam engine to turn paddle wheels. It was not until 1791, that Symington completed a model for him, of a size sufficient for a satisfactory experiment. If we may credit the evidence, which has since been adduced, the experiment was as successful as the first attempts of Fulton; but it did not give to the inventor that degree of confidence, which was necessary to induce him to embark his fortune in the enterprise. The experiment of Miller was, therefore, ranked by the public among unsuccessful enterprises, and was rather calculated to deter from imitation, than to encourage others to pursue the same path.

Symington, at a subsequent period, resumed the plans of Miller, and, by the aid of funds furnished by Lord Dundas, put a boat in motion on the Forth and Clyde canal in 1801.

There can be little doubt that Symington was a mechanic of great practical skill, and considerable ingenuity; but he can have no claim to be considered as an original inventor; for he was, in the first instance, no more than the workman, who carried into effect the ideas of Miller, and his second boat was a mere copy of the first. It is with pain, too, that we are compelled to notice a most disingenuous attempt, on his part, to defraud the memory of Fulton of its due honor.

In a narrative which he drew up, after Fulton's death, he states, that, while his first boat was in existence, probably in 1802, he received a visit from Fulton, and, at his request, put the boat in motion. Now it appears to be established, beyond all question, that Fulton was not in Great Britain between 1796 and 1804, when he returned to that country on the invitation of Mr. Pitt, who held out hopes that his torpedoes would be experimented upon by that government. At all events, we know, that Fulton could not have made the copious notes, which Symington says he took, and we have rea-



son to believe, that he had never seen the boat of that artist; for the author of this memoir, long after the successful enterprise of Fulton, actually furnished him, for the purpose of reference, with a work containing a draft of Symington's boat, of which he could have had no need, had the assertions of the latter been true.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Farther Attempts at Steam Navigation in the United States.—Stevens.—Livingston.—Roosevelt.—Livingston goes as Minister to France.—Becomes acquainted with Fulton.—Their Contract.—Experiments at Plombières.—Experimental Boat on the Seine.—Engine ordered from Watt.—Its Peculiarities.*

THE experiments of Fitch and Rumsey in the United States, although generally considered as unsuccessful, did not deter others from similar attempts. The great rivers and arms of the sea, which intersect the Atlantic coast, and still more, the innumerable navigable arms of the Father of Waters, appeared to call upon the ingenious machinist to contrive means for their more convenient navigation.

The improvement of the engine by Watt was now familiarly known; and it was evident, that it possessed sufficient powers for the purpose. The only difficulty which existed, was in the mode of applying it. The first person who entered into the inquiry was John Stevens, of Hoboken, who commenced his researches in 1791. In these he was steadily engaged for nine years, when he became the associate of Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas Roosevelt. Among the persons employed by this association was Brunel, who has since become distinguished in Europe, as the inventor of the block machinery

used in the British navy yards, and as the engineer of the tunnel beneath the Thames.

Even with the aid of such talent, the efforts of this association were unsuccessful, as we now know, from no error in principle, but from defects in the boat to which it was applied. The appointment of Livingston as ambassador to France broke up this joint effort; and, like all previous schemes, it was considered as abortive, and contributed to throw discredit upon all undertakings of the kind. A grant of exclusive privileges on the waters of the State of New York was made to this association without any difficulty, it being believed that the scheme was little short of madness.

Livingston, on his arrival in France, found Fulton domiciliated with Joel Barlow. The conformity in their pursuits led to intimacy, and Fulton speedily communicated to Livingston the scheme which he had laid before Earl Stanhope in 1793. Livingston was so well pleased with it, that he at once offered to provide the funds necessary for an experiment, and to enter into a contract for Fulton's aid in introducing the method into the United States, provided the experiment were successful.

Fulton had, in his early discussion with Lord Stanhope, repudiated the idea of an apparatus acting on the principle of the foot of an aquatic bird, and had proposed paddle wheels in its stead. On resuming his inquiries, after his arrangements with Livingston, it occurred to him to compose wheels with a set of paddles revolving upon an endless chain extending from the stem to the stern of the boat. It is probable, that the apparent want of success, which had attended the experiments of Symington, led him to doubt the correctness of his own original views.

That such doubt should be entirely removed, he had recourse to a series of experiments upon a small scale. These were performed at Plombières, a French watering place, where he spent the summer of 1802. In these experiments, the superiority of the paddle wheel over every other method of propulsion, that had yet been proposed, was fully established. His original impressions being thus confirmed, he proceeded, late in the

year 1803, to construct a working model of his intended boat, which model was deposited with a commission of French *savans*. He at the same time commenced building a vessel sixty-six feet in length and eight feet in width. To this, an engine was adapted; and the experiment made with it was so satisfactory, as to leave little doubt of final success.

Measures were therefore immediately taken, preparatory to constructing a steamboat on a large scale in the United States. For this purpose, as the workshops of neither France nor America could at that time furnish an engine of good quality, it became necessary to resort to England for the purpose. Fulton had already experienced the difficulty of being compelled to employ artists unacquainted with the subject. It is, indeed, more than probable, that had he not, during his residence in Birmingham, made himself familiar not only with the general features, but the most minute details of the engine of Watt, the experiment on the Seine could not have been made. In this experiment, and in the previous investigations, it became obvious, that the engine of Watt required important modifications, in order to adapt it to navigation. These modifications had been planned by Fulton; but it now became important, that they should be more fully tested. An engine was therefore ordered from Watt and Bolton, without any specification of the object to which it was to be applied; and its form was directed to be varied from their usual models, in conformity to sketches furnished by Fulton. As this engine was in fact the type of many of those used in the steam navigation of both Europe and America, it may not be uninteresting to inquire into its original form.

The cylinder having the usual proportions, the capacity of the condenser was increased, from one eighth of that of the cylinder, to one half. By this fourfold increase of capacity, the necessity of a cold water cistern was done away with. The water of injection was supplied by a pipe intended to be passed through the bottom of the boat. Instead of the parallel motion of Watt, the piston rod had a cross head, and worked in guides. From

the cross head was suspended, by connecting rods, two lever beams, whose centres were no more elevated above the floor timbers of the vessel than was sufficient for their free oscillation. As these would lie in an unfavorable position to work the wheels, the beam was made nearly in the form of an inverted T; and, from the upper end of the stem, a connecting rod proceeded to a crank formed upon the axle of each wheel. This connecting rod lay, while passing the centre, in a horizontal position. On the same axle with the cranks were toothed wheels, which gave motion to pinions, and to the axles of these pinions was adjusted a heavy fly wheel. Provision was made for throwing either wheel out of gear, and it was even proposed to cause the two wheels to revolve at pleasure in opposite directions. These two adjustments were intended to aid in turning the vessel.

In his subsequent experience, Fulton soon discovered that this engine was unnecessarily complicated; he therefore suppressed the working beam in his next vessel, making the connecting rods apply themselves to the cranks of the wheels without any intervening machinery. The possibility of backing either wheel, while the other continued its motion, was thus dispensed with; but the fly wheel, and the gear for driving it, were retained. A small lever was used to supply that office of the working beam, which consists in giving motion to the bucket of the air pump. This last construction, with the omission of the fly wheel, is still the most usual form of boat engines in the United States; but the proportions of the cylinder have been changed, and the length of stroke much increased. By the latter change, the crank is made to act much more favorably in giving motion to the wheel.

Among the workmen sent out from Soho for the purpose of putting up the engine purchased from Watt and Bolton, was one of the name of Bell. This person, after performing his task, returned to Europe. The success of Fulton's experiment being known, Bell was employed to build a steamboat. This he did not do until the year 1812, four years after Fulton's boats had been in active operation upon the Hudson.

The vessel built by Bell, it may be stated, from actual inspection, is obviously a copy of that of Fulton. The engines subsequently constructed in England have, with little variation, followed the original model. The lever beam is still placed near the keelson of the vessels, but is usually suspended by a parallel motion; the wheels are moved by cranks attached to the beam by connecting rods, which, in passing the centre, are vertical. But, while the American engineers have sought to obtain a more favorable position for the impelled point of the crank, by increasing the stroke of the piston, the English have worked for an advantage of another description, namely, that of greater stability, in the opposite practice of diminishing the height of the cylinder, until it may work wholly beneath the deck.

The advantage gained in the latter way is at best problematical; for it by no means follows, that a vessel is rendered safer by every increase of stability; and, as a suppression of a part at least of the masts and sails, increases the stability also, it appears more than probable, that vessels, whose lading is thus purposely lowered, must labor much more in heavy seas, than those in which the centre of gravity is higher. By lessening the stroke of the piston, the action of the crank is rendered unfavorable; and it is no doubt owing to this structure of the engine, that, with equal power, and more accurate workmanship in the engine, the steamboats of Great Britain fall far short of the speed attained by those of America.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Application of Livingston to the State of New York for exclusive Privileges.—Fulton revisits England.—Returns to the United States.—First Steamboat built and tried.—First Voyage to Albany.—Transactions of the Summer of 1807.*

THE order for an engine, intended to propel a vessel of large size, was transmitted to Watt and Bolton in 1803. Much about the same time, Chancellor Livingston, having full confidence in the success of the enterprise, caused an application to be made to the legislature of New York, for an exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of that State by steam, that granted on a former occasion having expired.

This was granted with little opposition. Indeed, those who might have been inclined to object, saw so much of the impracticable and even of the ridiculous in the project, that they conceived the application unworthy of serious debate. The condition attached to the grant was, that a vessel should be propelled by steam at the rate of four miles an hour, within a prescribed space of time. This reliance upon the reserved rights of the States proved a fruitful source of vexation to Livingston and Fulton, imbittered the close of the life of the latter, and reduced his family to penury. It can hardly be doubted, that, had an expectation been entertained, that the grant of a State was ineffectual, and that the jurisdiction was vested in the general government, a similar grant might have been obtained from Congress. The influence of Livingston with the administration was deservedly high, and that administration was supported by a powerful majority; nor would it have been consistent with the principles of the opposition to vote against any act of liberality to the introducer of a valuable applica-

on of science. Livingston, however, confiding in his skill as a lawyer, preferred the application to the State, and was thus, by his own act, restricted to a limited field.

Before the engine ordered from Watt and Bolton was completed, Fulton visited England. Disgusted by the delays and want of consideration exhibited by the French government, he had listened to an overture from that of England. This was made to him at the instance of Earl Stanhope, who urged upon the administration the dangers to be apprehended by the navy of Great Britain, in case the invention of Fulton fell into the possession of France. After a long negotiation, protracted by the difficulty of communicating on such a subject between two hostile countries, he at last revisited England. Here, for a time, he was flattered with hopes of being employed for the purpose of using his invention. Experiments were made with such success, as to induce a serious effort to destroy the flotilla lying in the harbor of Boulogne by means of Torpedoes. This effort, however, did not produce much effect; and finally, when the British government demanded a pledge that the invention could be communicated to no other nation, Fulton, whose views had always been directed to the application of these new military engines to the service of his native country, refused to comply with the demand.

In these experiments, Earl Stanhope took a strong interest, which was shared by his daughter, Lady Hester; whose talents and singularity have since excited so much attention, and who now almost reigns as a queen among the tribes of the Libanus.

Although the visit of Fulton to England was ineffectual, so far as his project of torpedoes was concerned, it gave him the opportunity of visiting Birmingham, and directing, in person, the construction of the engine ordered from Watt and Bolton. It could only have been at this time, if ever, that he saw the boat of Symington; for a view of it could have produced no effect upon his own plans, which had been matured in France, and

carried, so far as the engine was concerned, to such an extent as to admit of no alteration.

The engine was at last completed, and reached New York in 1806. Fulton, who returned to his native country about the same period, immediately undertook the construction of a boat in which to place it. In the ordering of this engine, and in planning the boat, Fulton exhibited plainly, how far his scientific researches and practical experiments had placed him before all his competitors. He had evidently ascertained, what each successive year's experience proves more fully, the great advantages possessed by large steamboats over those of smaller size; and thus, while all previous attempts were made in small vessels, he alone resolved to make his final experiment in one of great dimensions. That a vessel, intended to be propelled by steam, ought to have very different proportions, and lines of a character wholly distinct from those of vessels intended to be navigated by sails, was evident to him. No other theory, however, of the resistance of fluids was admitted at the time, than that of Bossut, and there were no published experiments except those of the British Society of Arts. Judged in reference to these, the model chosen by Fulton was faultless, although it will not stand the test of an examination founded upon a better theory and more accurate experiments.

The vessel was finished and fitted with her machinery in August, 1807. An experimental excursion was forthwith made, at which a number of gentlemen of science and intelligence were present. Many of these were either skeptical, or absolute unbelievers; but a few minutes served to convert the whole party, and satisfy the most obstinate doubters, that the long-desired object was at last accomplished. Only a few weeks before, the cost of constructing and finishing the vessel threatening to exceed the funds with which he had been provided by Livingston, he had attempted to obtain a supply by the sale of one third of the exclusive right granted by the State of New York. No person was found possessed of the faith requisite to induce him to embark in the project.



those, who had rejected this opportunity of investment, are now the witnesses of the completion of the scheme, which they had considered as an inadequate security for the desired funds.

Within a few days from the time of the first experiment with the steamboat, a voyage was undertaken in it to Albany. This city, situated at the natural head of the navigation of the Hudson, is distant, by the line of the channel of the river, rather less than one hundred and twenty miles from New York. By the old post road, the distance is one hundred and sixty miles, at which that water is usually estimated. Although the greater part of the channel of the Hudson is both deep and wide, yet, for about fourteen miles below Albany, this character is not preserved, and the stream, confined within comparatively small limits, is obstructed by bars of sand, or reads itself over shallows. In a few remarkable instances, the sloops, which then exclusively navigated the Hudson, had effected a passage in about sixteen hours, but a whole week was not unfrequently employed in this voyage, and the average time of passage was not less than our entire days. In Fulton's first attempt to navigate this stream, the passage to Albany was performed in thirty-two hours, and the return in thirty.

Up to this time, although the exclusive grant had been sought and obtained from the State of New York, it does not appear, that either he or his associate had been fully aware of the vast opening which the navigation of the Hudson presented for the use of steam. They looked at the rapid Mississippi and its branches, as the place where their triumph was to be achieved; and the original boat, modelled for shallow waters, was announced as intended for the navigation of that river. But, even in the very first attempt, numbers, called by business or pleasure to the northern or western parts of the State of New York, crowded into the yet untried vessel; and, when the success of the attempt was beyond question, a little anxiety was manifested, that the steamboat could be established as a regular packet between New York and Albany.

With these indications of public feeling, Fulton immediately complied, and regular voyages were made at stated times until the end of the season. These voyages were not, however, unattended with inconvenience. The boat, designed for a mere experiment, was incommodious, and many of the minor arrangements by which facility of working, and safety from accident to the machinery, were to be insured, were yet wanting. Fulton continued a close and attentive observer of the performance of the vessel; every difficulty, as it manifested itself, was met and removed by the most masterly as well as simple contrivances. Some of these were at once adopted, while others remained to be applied while the boat should be laid up for the winter. He thus gradually formed in his mind the idea of a complete and perfect vessel; and, in his plan, no one part, which has since been found to be essential to ease of manœuvre or security, was omitted. But the eyes of the whole community were now fixed upon the steamboat; and, as all, of competent mechanical knowledge, were as alive to the defects of the original vessel as Fulton himself, his right to priority of invention of various important accessories has been disputed.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Steamboat rebuilt.—Occupations of the Summer of 1808.  
—Causes of Opposition to Fulton's Rights.—Rival  
Boats upon the Hudson.*

THE winter of 1807-8, was occupied in remodelling and rebuilding the vessel, to which the name of the *Clermont* was now given. The guards and housings for the wheels, which had been but temporary structures, applied as their value was pointed out by experience, became solid and essential parts of the boat. For a rudder of

the ordinary form, one of surface much more extended in its horizontal dimensions was substituted. This, instead of being moved by a tiller, was acted upon by ropes applied to its extremity, and these ropes were adapted to a steering wheel, which was raised aloft towards the bow of the vessel.

It had been shown by the numbers, who were transported during the first summer, that, at the same price for passage, many were willing to undergo all the inconveniences of the original rude accommodations, in preference to encountering the delays and uncertainty to which the passage in sloops was exposed. Fulton did not, however, take advantage of his monopoly, but, with the most liberal spirit, provided such accommodations for passengers, as, in convenience and even splendor, had not before been approached in vessels intended for the transportation of travellers. This was, on his part, an exercise of almost improvident liberality. By his contract with Chancellor Livingston, the latter undertook to defray the whole cost of the engine and vessel, until the experiment should result in success; but, from that hour, each was to furnish an equal share of all subsequent investments. Fulton had no patrimonial fortune, and what little he had saved from the product of his ingenuity was now exhausted. But the success of the experiment had inspired the banks and capitalists with confidence, and he now found no difficulty in obtaining, in the way of loan, all that was needed. Still, however, a debt was thus contracted, which the continued demands made upon him for new investments never permitted him to discharge. The *Clermont*, thus converted into a floating palace, gay with ornamental painting, gilding, and polished woods, commenced her course of passages for the second year in the month of April.

The first voyage of this year was of the most discouraging character. Chancellor Livingston, who had, by his own experiments, approached as near to success as any other person, who, before Fulton, had endeavored to navigate by steam, and who had furnished all the capital necessary for the experiment, had plans and projects

of his own. These he urged into execution, in spite of the opposition of Fulton. The boiler, furnished by Watt and Bolton, was not adapted to the object. Copied from those used on the land, it required that its fireplace and flues should be constructed of masonry. These added so much weight to the apparatus, that the rebuilt boat would hardly have floated had they been retained. In order to replace this boiler, Livingston had planned a compound structure of wood and copper, which he insisted should be tried.

It is only necessary for us to say, that this boiler proved a complete failure. Steam began to issue from its joints a few hours after the *Clermont* left New York. It then became impossible to keep up a proper degree of tension, and the passage was thus prolonged to forty-eight hours. These defects increased; after leaving Albany on the return, and the boiler finally gave way altogether, within a few miles of New York. The time of the downward passage was thus extended to fifty-six hours. Fulton was, however, thus relieved from all further interference; this fruitless experiment was decisive as to his superiority over his colleague in mechanical skill. He therefore immediately planned and directed the execution of a new boiler, which answered the purpose perfectly; and, although there are many reasons why boilers of a totally different form, and of subsequent invention, should be preferred, it is, for its many good properties, extensively used, with little alteration, up to the present day. But a few weeks sufficed to build and set this boiler, and in the month of June the regular passages of the *Clermont* were renewed.

In observing the hour appointed for departure, both from New York and Albany, Fulton determined to insist upon the utmost regularity. It required no little perseverance and resolution to carry this system of punctuality into effect. Persons accustomed to be waited for by packet boats and stages, assented with great reluctance to what they conceived to be a useless adherence to precision of time. The benefits of this punctuality were speedily perceptible; the whole system of internal com-

munication of the State of New York was soon regulated by the hours of arrival and departure of Fulton's steamboats ; and the same system of precision was copied in all other steamboat lines. The certainty of conveyance at stated times being thus secured, the number of travellers was instantly augmented ; and, before the end of the second summer, the boat became far too small for the passengers, who crowded to avail themselves of this novel, punctual, and unprecedently rapid method of transport.

Such success, however, was not without its alloy. The citizens of Albany and the river towns saw, as they thought, in the steamboat, the means of enticing their customers from their ancient marts, to the more extensive market of the chief city ; the skippers of the river mourned the inevitable loss of a valuable part of their business ; and innumerable projectors beheld with envy the successful enterprise of Fulton.

Among the latter class was one, who, misled by false notions of mechanical principles, fancied that in the mere oscillations of a pendulum lay a power sufficient for any purpose whatever. Availing himself of a well-constructed model, he exhibited, to the inhabitants of Albany, a pendulum, which continued its motions for a considerable time, without requiring any new impulse, and at the same time propelled a pair of wheels. These wheels, however, did not work in water. Those persons, who felt themselves aggrieved by the introduction of steamboats, quickly embraced this project, prompted by an enmity to Fulton ; and determined, if they could not defeat his object, at least to share in the profits of its success.

It soon appeared from preliminary experiments, made in a sloop purchased for the purpose, that a steam engine would be required to give motion to the pendulum ; and it was observed, that the water wheels, when in connexion with the pendulum, had a very irregular motion. A fly wheel was therefore added, and the pendulum was now found to be a useless incumbrance. Enlightened by these experiments, the association proceeded to build

two boats ; and these were exact copies, not only of the hull and all the accessories of the *Clermont*, but the engine turned out to be identical in form and structure with one, which Fulton was at the very time engaged in fitting to his second boat, *The Car of Neptune*.

The pretence of bringing into use a new description of prime mover was of course necessarily abandoned, and the owners of the new steamboats determined boldly to test the constitutionality of the exclusive grant to Fulton. Fulton and Livingston, in consequence, applied to the Court of Chancery of the State of New York for an injunction, which was refused. On an appeal to the Court of Errors, this decision of the Chancellor was reversed, but the whole of the profits which might have been derived from the business of the year, were prevented from accruing to Livingston and Fulton, who, compelled to contend in price with an opposition, supported by popular feeling in Albany, were losers rather than gainers by the operations of the season.

As no appeal was taken from this last decision, the waters of the State of New York remained in the exclusive possession of Fulton and his partner, until the death of the former. This exclusive possession was not, however, attended with all the advantages, that might have been anticipated. The immense increase of travel, which the facilities of communication created, rendered it imperative upon the holders of the monopoly to provide new facilities by the construction of new vessels. The cost of these could not be defrayed out of the profits. Hence new and heavy debts were necessarily contracted by Fulton, while Livingston, possessed of an ample fortune, required no pecuniary aid, beyond what he was able to meet from his own resources.

## CHAPTER X.

*Fulton's Marriage.—His Success speedily clouded by Opposition.—Nature and Sources of the Opposition.—Claims derived from Fitch.—Fulton's two Patents.—Simplicity of his Methods.*

THE success of Fulton's first experiment, was speedily followed by his marriage. On his arrival in the United States, his connexion in business with Chancellor Livingston brought him in contact with the relatives and friends of that gentleman. Of this circle, Miss Harriet Livingston, the niece of the Chancellor, was, at that time, the ornament. Preeminent in beauty, grace, and accomplishments, she speedily attracted the ardent admiration of Fulton; and this was returned by an estimate of his talent and genius, amounting almost to enthusiasm.

The epoch of their nuptials, the spring of 1808, was that of Fulton's greatest glory. Every thing, in fact, appeared to concur in enhancing the advantages of his position. Leaving out of view all questions of romance, his bride was such as the most impartial judgment would have selected; young, lovely, highly educated, intelligent, possessed of what, in those days, was accounted wealth. His long labors in adapting the steam engine to the purposes of navigation, had been followed by complete success; and that very success had opened to him, through the exclusive grant of the navigation of the Hudson, the prospect of vast riches. Esteemed and honored, even by those who had been most incredulous while his scheme was in embryo, he felt himself placed on the highest step of the social scale. Nothing, in short, seemed wanting to complete the blessings of his lot.

We have seen, in a former chapter, how speedily his apparently well-grounded hopes of immediate profit from his invention, were frustrated by the opposition steam-

boats constructed in Albany, and how slow was his legal remedy for the damage he thus incurred. This opposition was, as we have stated, supported by those who anticipated injury from his success. When it was clearly to be seen, that any such anticipation was groundless, and that Albany, so far from being injured, was to be largely benefited by the steam navigation of the Hudson, other causes of discontent and opposition speedily arose; and, however important were the services conferred upon travellers, and the community in general, by the introduction of steamboats, those of Fulton and Livingston speedily ceased to enjoy popularity.

In the early part of the enterprise, before its rapidity and certainty had actually created a traffic beyond the capacity of the vessels to accommodate, nothing could be imagined more agreeable than a summer passage to Albany in the steamboats. Gliding along, at a steady, but by no means rapid rate, the passenger had leisure to dwell upon the beauties of a scenery almost unrivalled in beauty, and to view it in all its aspects and under every variety of light. The time had not yet arrived when prudence would require a separation of one's self from all unknown persons; for the very fact of being a steamboat passenger, was, for a time, almost a guaranty of respectability. A society, therefore, existed on board, of the most easy and polished character. Rudeness and vulgarity, if accidentally present, were controlled by a preponderating force of good manners and refinement.

Such happy influences, however, continued but a few months, and the steamboats were speedily crowded by persons of every description, in such numbers as to defy all attempts on the part of the owners to render them comfortable. Most of the additions to the number, were of that class, who, from calculation, found that the saving of time in the steamboat was more than equivalent to its additional cost. These nice calculators also speedily found, that the cost of the provisions they consumed, and of the fuel which conveyed them, was far less than the sum they paid; and, leaving out of account the vast



cost and labor expended on the preliminary experiments, they not only grumbled at the inconveniences arising from their own unexpected numbers, but complained of the extortions of which they conceived themselves, the victims.

Of such impressions, each passenger became, in his turn, the vehicle; and those, to whom the steamboats were known only by name, were speedily aware of all their discomforts. The crowded sleeping-rooms, the decks strewn with couches, the confined and offensive air, meals scrambled for, food ravenously swallowed, were all laid to the charge of the exclusive privileges of the owners. These feelings it was attempted to counteract by the most liberal, nay, profuse, expenditure; but this liberality produced no other good effect than to enrich the stewards and purveyors; in the hands of some of whom, the wealth gained in his service, was made the most efficient means of depriving his family of the rights Fulton bequeathed them. Thus, while with the intelligent, the educated, and the high-minded, the name of Fulton was regarded with esteem and reverence, it became hateful to the ignorant and selfish; of whom, even in our more enlightened times, the majority is made up.

It is, however, to be admitted, that the opposition to Fulton's monopoly was not wholly confined to persons of the latter description. In the legal disputes which arose out of the attempts to set aside the exclusive privileges granted to Fulton, and in the debates which arose in the legislatures of several of the States, there were men enlisted on the side of the opposition who were not mere professional advocates, but had the firmest reliance upon the justice of the cause they espoused. They believed, conscientiously, that Fulton had arrogated to himself the merit of discoveries, which had been made by others. To these pure and disinterested gentlemen we must allow the praise of proper and patriotic motives.

The most formidable opposition which was made to the privileges of Fulton, was founded upon the discoveries of Fitch. We have seen, that he had constructed a boat, which made some passages between Trenton and Phila-

delphia ; but the method, which he used, was that of paddles, which are inferior to the paddle wheel. Of the inferiority of the method of paddles, had any doubt remained, positive evidence was afforded in the progress of this dispute ; for, in order to bring the question to the test of a legal decision, a boat propelled by them was brought into the waters of the State of New York. The result of the experiment was so decisive, that, when the parties engaged in the enterprise had succeeded in their designs, they made no attempt to propel their boats by any other method than that of wheels.

Fulton, assailed in his exclusive privileges derived from State grants, took, for his further protection, a patent from the general government. This is dated in 1809, and was followed by another, for improvements upon it, in 1811. It now appeared, that the very circumstance in which the greatest merit of his method consists, was to be the obstacle to his maintaining an exclusive privilege. Discarding all complexity, he had limited himself to the simple means of adapting paddle wheels to the axle of the crank of Watt's engine ; and, under the patent laws, it seems hardly possible that such a simple, yet effectual method, could be guarded by a specification. As has been the case with many other important discoveries, the most ignorant conceived that they might themselves have discovered it ; and those acquainted with the history of the attempts at navigation by steam were compelled to wonder, that it had been left for Fulton to bring it into successful operation.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Conflicting Claims of the States of New York and New Jersey.—Attempt to obtain a Repeal of the Grant from the State of New York.—Fulton's Steam Ferryboats.—Boat for the Navigation of the Sound.—Boats planned by Fulton, and left unfinished at the Time of his Death.*

IN considering the history of the remaining years of Fulton's life, it is impossible not to be struck with the obvious fact, that he had made a false step in forming a partnership with Livingston, and in looking to exclusive legislative grants for his remuneration. Had he acted simply as Livingston's engineer, and kept aloof from all more intimate connexion, he would have been consulted, as a matter of course, by all those who embarked in the enterprise of extending steam navigation.

From such professional service, fortune and popularity could not fail to have followed. But becoming, as he did, the partner in a monopoly, every new extension of the method he had brought into successful use, and every improvement made in it, was hostile to his interests, and those, who, under other circumstances, would have been his firmest supporters, became his opponents and enemies.

The State of New York, at the time when its grant to Fulton and Livingston was in force, claimed jurisdiction over the whole of the waters lying between its own shores and those of New Jersey. The latter State resisted this claim; but, in the intercourse by ferries between the two States, the influence of individual interests had prevented any inconvenience arising from the conflicting jurisdictions.

It is probable, that, had Fulton himself been the sole proprietor of the grant from the State of New York, a

spirit of compromise with the citizens of New Jersey would have governed him. But the partnership, instead of treating on fair terms with the parties holding ferry rights in that State, transferred the whole of the rights they held under the State of New York to a near relation of Chancellor Livingston. The boat constructed under this grant, on commencing its passages, came into immediate competition with the ferry owners in New Jersey, and left them no option except between the total abandonment of their property in the ferries and a competition by means of steamboats.

For this latter object, grants made to Fitch by the State of New Jersey, which, although never acted upon, were still in force, were resorted to. Not content with an opposition upon the debatable waters, the parties engaged in this attempt resolved to try the validity of the grant to Livingston within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the State of New York. With this view, an application was made in the winter of 1808-9 for a repeal of the law. This application, being referred to a committee of the legislature, was favorably received, and a bill for the repeal was reported. Fulton and Livingston, however, having obtained permission to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Assembly, succeeded in preventing this bill from becoming a law.

The action of the State of New Jersey was effectual in causing the steamboat, constructed by virtue of the grant from Fulton and Livingston, to suspend her passages ; and, in retaliation, her proprietors, in opposition, as is believed, to the wishes of Fulton, brought the law of the State of New York to bear upon a ferryboat belonging to John Stevens, of Hoboken, which was in consequence prevented from plying.

It thus happened, that the persons, who were entitled to all the merit of introducing steam successfully into the service of navigation, were the greatest sufferers by the contest. Fulton lost the income for which he had stipulated out of the profits of the steamboats plying to New Jersey ; while Stevens, who had constructed and set in motion a steamboat of unobjectionable construction, with-

in a few weeks after Fulton's successful experiment, was prevented from using it.

We may here pause to remark on what small circumstances the claim to original invention may rest. Stevens had now been engaged for seventeen years in attempts to apply the steam engine to the purposes of navigation, and was on the very eve of success, when forestalled by Fulton, while the latter was entitled to his right of priority by no more than a few weeks. It is, however, to be remarked, that the engine, with which Fulton's successful experiment was made, had been planned and constructed several years before; and it appears probable, that the exertions of Stevens, and of his son, who had now come forward as his father's engineer, were stimulated by the knowledge of Fulton's confidence in a successful issue of his experiments. If, however, it were necessary for us to decide to whom, of all the rivals of Fulton, any share of the honors of success were due, there could be no hesitation in awarding them to Stevens.

This controversy with the State of New Jersey, which embarrassed, and often interrupted wholly, the communication by steam between Philadelphia and New York, was not adjusted during the life of Fulton, and may indeed be said to have continued until the grant of the State of New York was finally decided to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Although thus harassed by litigation, Fulton did not permit his mind to be wholly diverted from mechanical pursuits. The insular position of the City of New York, however favorable to commerce, both domestic and inland, subjected it to great difficulty in its communications with the adjacent country and diminished materially the value of the lands situated on the opposite shores of its rivers and bay. From the magnitude of these masses of water, row-boats were an unsafe mode of communication, which, if attempted by them, was subject to continual interruptions; and large sail-boats, although more safe, were, in consequence of the rapidity of the tides and the irregularity of the winds, liable to great uncertainty in their passage. That these difficulties

might be overcome by steam was now obvious, and Fulton tasked himself to contrive the most appropriate means of applying that mover to the object.

It appeared necessary that the vessels should be so constructed, that carriages might be driven into them without difficulty. He was in consequence led to adopt the plan of twin boats, having the paddle wheels between them, and connected by a deck, sufficiently strong to bear the feet of horses and the weight of loaded carriages. It is probable, that he now, for the first time, availed himself of the experiment of Symington, whose boat was of similar structure; and it was at this period, that he consulted the work which contains a drawing of that vessel. The assistance he derived from an inspection of this draft was however but small; for there is not the slightest resemblance in the arrangement and distribution of the two inventions, with the exception of both being twin boats, and both moved by a single paddle wheel set in motion by a steam engine. Fulton had found no difficulty in the navigation of rivers, in the direction of their length, by a single boat with wheels on each side; but the circumstances of the case were far different, when a movable road, bearing both foot passengers and carriages, was to be employed to cross a stream. So far as the theory then received of the resistance of fluids could be a guide, the form selected by Fulton was a good one; but it is now determined, by observations upon the ferryboats constructed by him and others, that twin boats are retarded by a resistance of a more powerful character than single ones.

This increase of resistance, to an amount far greater than is pointed out by theory, appears to be due to a wedge of water which lies between the two conjoined boats, and which must be removed as the vessel advances. Of this Fulton could not have been aware, as no observations or experiments existed by which it could have been determined. With this exception, the ferryboat of Fulton is to be classed with the very few machines, which come perfect, on the first trial, from the hands of the inventor; and, with the substitution of a single hull

for the twin boat, it has in its arrangement and distribution undergone little or no change.

Steam ferryboats were first established upon the ferry between New York and Brooklyn, and a short time afterwards, between the former city and Paulus Hook. The latter were completed shortly after the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and the United States. An immediate opportunity was afforded to prove the importance of the invention. It became necessary to transport a troop of flying artillery, with its battery of guns and other carriages. The whole were conveyed across this ferry, whose breadth is about a mile, in less than an hour, by a single boat, although comprising upwards of a hundred mounted men, and more than twenty carriages, each drawn by four horses.

A difficulty existed, on account of the ebb and flow of the tide, in making his ferryboats answer the purpose of a movable road, into and from which carriages might be driven without delay or danger. This was obviated, in a simple and ingenious way, by means of a floating bridge; and the danger to the wharves and the vessel itself arising from the shock attending their contact, was prevented by an apparatus governed by a floating counterpoise. These exhibited much skill in practical mechanics, and knowledge of the laws of hydrostatics. The latter part of his invention has, however, been rendered useless by the dexterity, which the ferrymen have attained in the management of the boats, but was at first of the utmost importance to prevent injury, not only to the machines themselves, but to the passengers.

The steamboats on the Hudson River were increased in number, before the death of Fulton, to five. A sixth was built under his direction for the navigation of the Sound; and, this water being rendered unsafe by the presence of an enemy's squadron, the boat plied for a time upon the Hudson. In the construction of this boat, he had, in his own opinion, exhausted the power of steam in navigation, having given it a speed of nine miles an hour; and it is a remarkable fact, which manifests his acquaintance with theory and skill in calculation, that he in all

cases predicted, with almost absolute accuracy, the velocity of the vessels he caused to be constructed. The engineers of Great Britain came long after to a similar conclusion in respect to the maximum of speed.

It is now, however, well known, that with a proper construction of prows, the resistance to vessels moving at higher velocities than nine miles an hour, increases in a much less ratio than had been inferred from experiments made upon wedge-shaped bodies; and that the velocity of the pistons of steam engines may be conveniently increased beyond the limit fixed by the practice of Watt.

For these important discoveries, the world is indebted principally to Robert L. Stevens. That Fulton must have reached them in the course of his own practice can hardly be doubted, had his valuable life been spared to watch the performances of the vessels he was engaged in building at the time of his premature death. These were, a large boat, intended for the navigation of the Hudson, to which the name of his partner, Chancellor Livingston, was given, and one planned for the navigation of the ocean. The latter was constructed with the intention of making a passage to St. Petersburg; but this scheme was interrupted by his death, which took place at the moment he was about to add to his glory, as the first constructor of a successful steamboat, that of being the first navigator of the ocean by this new and mighty agent.



## CHAPTER XII.

*Fulton's Torpedoes.—His Submarine Guns.—Steam Frigate.—Submarine Vessel.—He is called before the Legislature of New Jersey as a Witness.—Is detained on the Hudson by the Ice.—His Illness.—Death and Character.*

THE prime of Fulton's life had been spent in ineffectual attempts to introduce a novel mode of warfare. In these efforts he was encouraged by the hope, that, were efficacy once established, his native country would be free from the aggressions of European powers. The year of 1812 promised an opportunity of applying his refully matured schemes to the purpose for which they were originally intended, and of realizing his long-cherished hopes. He had, almost immediately after his return to the United States, instituted a set of experiments with his Torpedo; these were successful in destroying a vessel anchored in the bay of New York. The attention of the general government being thus awakened, he had received instructions to perform another set of experiments, in which he was to receive the aid of officers of the navy; or, rather, was to attempt the application of his Torpedoes to a vessel, which they were to defend.

It is no dishonor to Fulton, that, in the course of these experiments, he was foiled. The officers of the navy, fully aware of the manner of his approach, took such measures as prevented all access to the vessel to be attacked. It is, however, obvious, that the very necessity of taking such precautions as they found indispensable, was a proof of the greatness of the danger; and it was evident, that, had they not had weeks for preparation, and all the means, both in men and material, furnished by a large navy yard at their disposal, some

one or other of the means proposed by Fulton must have been successful.

In spite, then, of the advantage which the highest degree of naval skill, and the command of means, that could not be within the reach of an enemy's vessel upon our shores, gained over Fulton's embryo scheme, we must conclude, that it would have been a powerful and efficient means of annoyance against an enemy anchoring in our waters. It was viewed in this light by the government, not as a substitute for the ordinary modes of warfare, but as a useful and powerful addition to the means of harbor defence.

When, therefore, the entrances of our harbors were blockaded, Fulton's talents were called into the service of the government; but, as his enterprises were conducted with the most profound secrecy, little was said of them at the time. It is now, however, well known, that, although no actual injury was done to the British fleet, yet the motions of the squadron in Long Island Sound, were paralysed, although commanded by the favorite captain of Nelson, and its crews kept in a state of continual alarm, by a fear of the invention of Fulton.

It is not to be wondered, that his motions were watched by spies, and regularly reported to the British commander; who, on one occasion, landed a strong party, which invested the house at which Fulton had intended to sleep. By a lucky accident, he was prevented reaching his intended quarters, or he would certainly have been made prisoner.

In the course of his experiments upon the mode of attaching the Torpedo, he had planned an instrument, by which a cable was to be cut. This consisted of an arrow, projected beneath the surface of the water, by a small piece of ordnance. A trial of this instrument showed the practicability of firing artillery beneath the surface of the water, and doing execution with it, at moderate distances. Upon this observation, he founded a method of arming vessels with submarine guns; by the use of which, they would, in close action, have ac-

quired a vast superiority over those armed in the usual manner.

His attention was next directed to the construction of a vessel of war, to be propelled by steam; and he succeeded in producing perhaps the most formidable engine of naval war, which has ever been planned. Viewed in the light of a floating battery, intended solely for the defence of harbors, this vessel left little to be desired; but he had no intention of fitting it for the general purposes of navigation; and hence we have no right, in estimating its value, in comparison with that of subsequent constructions of the same sort, to take its fitness for any other object into account.

When death arrested the career of Fulton, he was busily engaged in constructing an improved form of the submarine vessel, which he had used in France. Aware, by experience, of the difficulty of moving a vessel, when wholly submerged, he limited his views, in this case, to bringing the deck to a level with the surface of the water. This deck was to be rendered ball-proof. In this position, a large wheel, intended as the propelling apparatus, would have worked partly in air and partly in water. Such were the obvious features of the plan; but, of many accessory parts, the idea was confined to his own breast; and thus, upon his demise, no person was to be found able or willing to undertake the completion of the unfinished invention. The object of this vessel was to furnish a safe and convenient mode of using his Torpedoes and submarine guns.

The energies of Fulton's mind were arrested by death, in the midst of these active and interesting pursuits. The controversy, in which the parties holding under him were engaged with the owners of the monopoly granted by the State of New Jersey, had never been closed. A favorable opportunity seemed to present itself for obtaining a repeal of the law of that State, which was seized by the former party. Fulton, having no direct interest in the question, was a competent witness, and was summoned, as such, to attend the legislature of New Jersey, in January, 1815. On his return, the Hudson River was found

to be filled with floating ice, which put a stop to the usual means of passage. Fulton, anxious to rejoin his family, attempted the passage in an open row-boat, and was thus exposed for several hours to the inclemency of the weather. The consequence was a severe attack of illness.

Before he had wholly recovered, his anxiety in relation to the steam frigate and his submarine vessel was such as to induce him, in defiance of the suggestions of prudence, to visit the navy yard at Brooklyn, and expose himself for some hours upon the decks of the former. The result of this imprudence was a relapse of such violence, that his constitution, enfeebled by constant labors and anxieties, was unable to resist it. His death took place on the 24th of February, 1815.

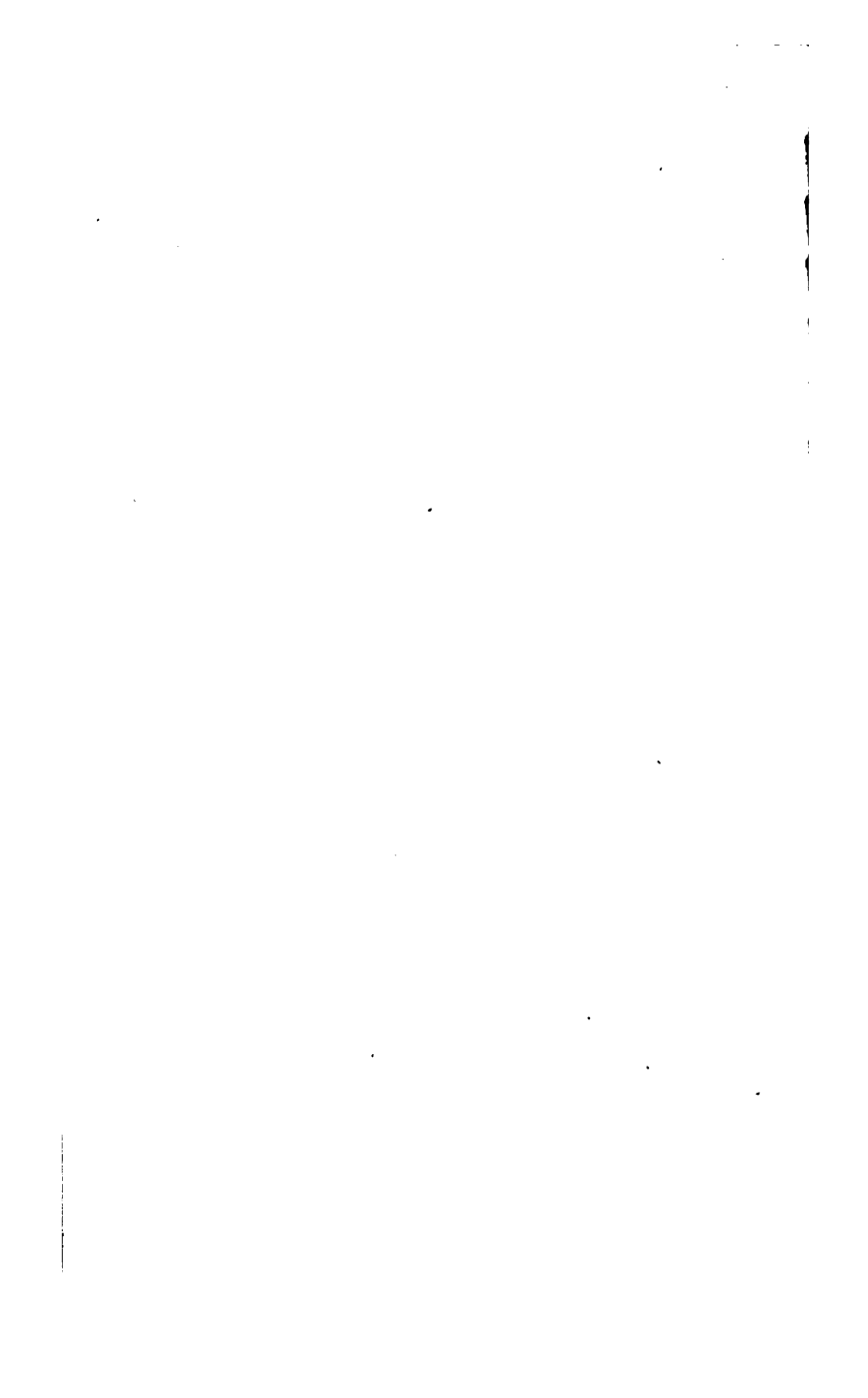
Rarely has it happened, that the natural death of any citizen excited so general mourning as that of Fulton. Cut off in the very height of his usefulness, and in the zenith of his reputation, his countrymen felt it as a loss almost irreparable.

Fulton was in person considerably above the middle height; his countenance bore marks of intelligence and talent. Natural refinement, and long intercourse with the most polished societies both of Europe and America, had given him grace and elegance of manners. His great success, and the belief that his invention had secured the certainty of great wealth, however unfounded this belief was proved to be after his death, never, for a moment, rendered him arrogant or assuming. Fond of society, he was the soul of the intelligent circle in which he moved, and of which his hospitable mansion was the centre. The fine arts, once his chosen profession, were his recreation and delight in after life; and he not only practised them himself, but bountifully encouraged the efforts of others.

Our memoir has exhibited the extent of his mechanical knowledge and ingenuity; and, in the midst of the most prolific creations of American industry, the services rendered by Fulton are at length admitted to be superior to those of any other inventor, with the sole exception of Whitney. This rank is now awarded him, not only

by the tardy justice of his own countrymen, but by the almost universal suffrage of the whole civilized world, the bonds of whose union are daily drawn closer and closer, by an invention which, however long sought and nearly attained by others, was at last introduced into use by his talent and perseverance.

In forming this estimate of his services, it is not necessary that we should undervalue the efforts of those, who preceded him in the attempt to apply steam to navigation. It is very probable, indeed, that, had it not been for the experiments of Fitch, Fulton might never have applied his attention to steam navigation. But it is not less certain, that, had he not been successful, the merits of Fitch would have been forgotten, and unknown to the present generation. It may even be questioned, whether the public would have believed in the success of Stevens, and afforded him the encouragement necessary to carry on his enterprise, had not conviction been forced upon it, by the more brilliant and conspicuous experiment of Fulton. Compared with these two names, the superiority of reputation, which the future historian will not fail to ascribe to Fulton, may be as much due to good fortune as to actual merit; but, with this exception, he has no competitor for the glory of having introduced one of the most useful applications of mechanics, with which the civilized world has yet been favored.



THE  
LIFE AND ADVENTURES  
OF  
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH;

BY  
GEORGE S. HILLARD.





## P R E F A C E.

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WHOEVER expects to find much that is new in the following biographical notice of Captain Smith, will probably be disappointed. My aim has been to give a lucid and simple narrative of the events in the life of one of the most remarkable men, "that ever lived in the tide of times;" with the use of materials contained in works, which are familiar to those who have studied the early history of this country. My task has been the humble one of arranging, selecting from, condensing, and transposing these ample though confused materials, so as to form such a narrative as would recommend itself to the popular taste.

Captain Smith's own writings, which have furnished me with nearly all my facts, are not easily accessible to the public at large, and would not be generally read if they were. Their obsolete diction and uncouth spelling would repel any but a professed antiquary. I have endeavored to translate them into a modern style, and to give them a modern garb, though I have permitted Captain Smith to speak for himself on many occasions.

I have written a Life of Captain Smith, and not a History of the World, or of any considerable portion of it, while he lived in it. Such collateral and contemporaneous facts only have been mentioned, as are necessary to illustrate and elucidate portions of his own biography. It is true, I have given a succinct history of the colony of Virginia, during the two years in which Captain Smith was there; but the reason is, that, from his character and station, such a history is identical with his own life.

In addition to his writings, I have derived assistance from Grahame's 'History of the United States,' and

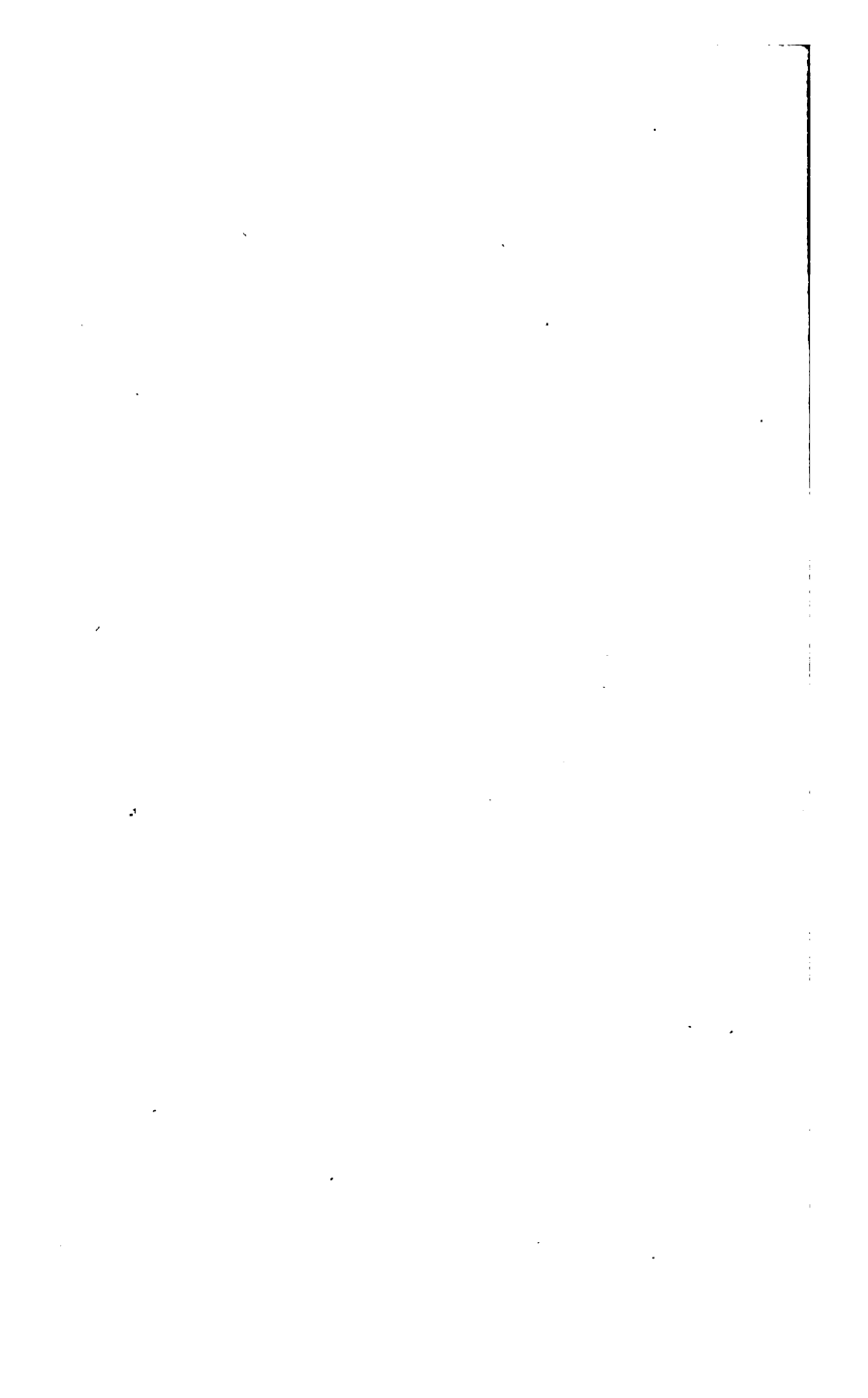
Stith's accurate and faithful 'History of Virginia.' I have also been aided by Belknap's well-written Life of Smith, a work of great merit, like every thing which came from his pen, and which, had it been more ample, would have left no room for me or any succeeding writer. I have moreover enjoyed the advantage of an original document, which is of a nature to demand a somewhat extended notice. It is a manuscript Life of Smith, in Latin, the original of which is deposited in the Lambeth Library. By the kindness of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a copy has been obtained for the purpose of being used in compiling the present Memoir. It was written by Henry Wharton, an English clergyman of extraordinary talents and acquisitions, who belonged to the melancholy catalogue of lights too early quenched for their own fame and the interests of literature. He was born November 9th, 1664, at Worstead, in Norfolk county, was graduated at the University of Cambridge, and admitted to the order of deacon in 1687. His literary industry was wonderful. He wrote, translated, and edited a variety of works, principally on ecclesiastical antiquities and religious controversies, many of them against the Popish religion. He was warmly patronized by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed him one of his chaplains. Many of his works are still in manuscript in the Lambeth Library, having been purchased by Archbishop Tenison. He died at the age of thirty, a victim to immoderate application. Considering the age at which he died, the vast amount of his labors, and the extent of his acquisitions, Henry Wharton may be justly esteemed a prodigy.\*

The Life of Smith from his pen is more valuable as a literary curiosity, than as a historical document. It was written in 1685, and is a compilation from the original sources, to which we now have access, and of course contains not many new or important facts. The greater part of it is devoted to Captain Smith's adventures

\* For a full and interesting account of the life and labors of Wharton, see Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.

before going to Virginia; afterwards it is meager and cursory; and it extends no farther than to his return to England from Jamestown. Its style is not scrupulously classical. Words now and then appear, which would have made "Quintilian stare and gasp;" but it is full of spirit and vivacity, and the numerous learned and happy allusions in it show the great extent and variety of the author's resources. The name of Smith he Latinizes into "Fabricius;" Opechancanough he calls "Opecan-canious;" Powhatan, "Poviatanus;" Pocahontas, "Poc-aunta;" the Chickahominies, "Cicaminæi." He professes the greatest admiration for his hero, whom he declares to be every way equal to the most renowned heroes of antiquity, and that he would obtain the same amount of fame, if he could meet with a Plutarch, who would record his exploits in a style worthy of them. From the character of its author, and the nature of its subject, this manuscript is a curious and valuable record, and it is fortunate that there is a copy of it on this side of the Atlantic.

GEORGE S. HILLARD.



# CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *His Birth, early Adventures, and brilliant Achievements in the Turkish Wars.*

AMONG the adventurous spirits, whom a restless love of enterprise called from the bosom of repose in England to new scenes and untried perils in our Western wilds, there is no one whose name awakens more romantic associations, than CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH. His life is as brilliant and exciting as a fairy tale; and the remarkable adventures he went through, served to develop fully his no less remarkable character. It was his good fortune to live in stirring and eventful times, congenial to his bold and roving disposition, and, luckily for posterity, his adventures have been preserved in a characteristic narrative written by himself, from which the principal facts in the following biographical sketch have been drawn.

He was born in Willoughby, in the county of Lincolnshire, in the year 1579, and was descended from an ancient family, which belonged to the county of Lancashire. His wild spirit of enterprise and dislike to confinement displayed themselves in early boyhood; for, at the age of thirteen, being, as he himself says, "set upon brave adventures," he sold his satchel, books, and whatever other property he had, in order to raise money to furnish him with the means of going privately to sea; but this hopeful enterprise was frustrated by the death of his parents, who left him a competent estate. His

guardians put him apprentice, at the age of fifteen, to Mr. Thomas Sendall of Lynn, "the greatest merchant of all those parts;" but the counting-house desk seems to have been as irksome to him as the school-boy's form. He quitted his master's employment, and, with but ten shillings in his pocket, furnished him by his friends (to use his own words) "to get rid of him," he entered into the train of the second son of the famous Lord Willoughby, who was travelling into France.

On arriving at Orleans, he was furnished with funds sufficient to carry him back to England; but such a step was very far from his intention. He went over into the Low Countries, the battle-ground of Europe, where he served for three or four years under the command of Captain Joseph Duxbury. Of the nature of his service he does not inform us; but he probably belonged to a company of English auxiliaries, who were aiding Prince Maurice in his gallant and successful struggle against the power of Spain, which resulted in the independence of the Netherlands. He met with a Scotch gentleman abroad, whose name was David Hume, who supplied him with money, gave him letters to his friends in Scotland, and assured him of the favor and patronage of King James.

He set sail for Scotland accordingly, and, after having suffered shipwreck and a severe fit of sickness, arrived there, and delivered his letters. By those to whom they were addressed, he was treated with that warmth of hospitality, which seems to have been characteristic of the Scotch nation from the earliest times; but he found no encouragement to enter upon the career of a courtier. He returned to Willoughby, in Lincolnshire; and finding himself thrown among those in whose society he took no pleasure, and being perhaps a little soured by disappointment, he built himself a silvan lodge, of boughs, in a wood, and studied military history and tactics. He amused himself at the same time with hunting and horsemanship. He was not, however, a genuine and independent man of the woods; for he kept up an intercourse with the civilized world by means of his servant, who

supplied his woodland retreat with all the comforts of artificial life. Rumor soon spread about the country the tale of a young and accomplished hermit, and brought to his "lonely bower" an Italian gentleman in the service of the Earl of Lincoln, of great skill in horsemanship, who insinuated himself into the favor of Smith, and induced him to return with him into the world.

His military ardor soon revived, and he set out a second time upon his travels, intending to fight against the Turks, whom all good Christians in those days looked upon as natural enemies. The first stage of his journey was the Low Countries, where he met with four French adventurers, who, seeing the youth and inexperience of Smith, (being at that time but nineteen years old,) formed a plan to rob him. One of them pretended to be a nobleman, and the others personated his attendants. They persuaded him to travel with them into France, and they accordingly embarked together on board of a vessel for that purpose. His treacherous friends found in the captain a kindred spirit in villany, and by his assistance their plans were put into execution. In a dark night they arrived at St. Valery, in Picardy; and, by the contrivance of the captain, the four Frenchmen were put on shore with the baggage of Smith, he himself remaining on board, in utter ignorance of the disposition which had been made of his property. The boat with the captain returned the next day towards evening, a delay which he alleged to be in consequence of the high sea, but which was in reality to enable the robbers to escape with their booty. His villany was strongly suspected by the passengers, who, indignant at his baseness and strongly sympathizing with Smith in his misfortune, proposed to him to kill the captain and take possession of the vessel and cargo. This offer, so characteristic of the lawlessness of the times, was rejected by Smith, with a promptness worthy of his honorable and high-minded character.

On his being landed, Smith found himself in such straits as to be compelled to sell his cloak to pay for his passage. One of his fellow-passengers, generously com-

passionating his forlorn situation, supplied him with money and brought him to Mortain, the place of residence of the villains who had robbed him. He found it impossible to obtain any satisfaction, however, for the injuries he had received at their hands, the word of a friendless and unknown stranger probably not being deemed sufficient evidence of their guilt; and he could not be aided by his generous fellow-passenger, who was an outlawed man and obliged to live in the strictest seclusion. The rumor of his misfortunes awakened the active sympathy of several noble families in the neighborhood, by whom he was most hospitably entertained and his necessities liberally relieved.

A life of ease did not suit his restless temperament, and his high spirit could not endure his being the constant subject of favors, which he had no means of repaying. He set out upon his wanderings with a light purse, a stout heart, and a good sword. His slender means being soon exhausted, he was reduced to great sufferings, so much so, that one day, in passing through a forest, his strength, worn out by grief and exposure, entirely failed him, and he threw himself down by the edge of a fountain, with little hope of ever rising again. Here he was providentially found by a rich farmer, who acted the part of the good Samaritan towards him, and furnished him with the means of prosecuting his journey.

In rambling from port to port in search of a ship of war, he met, near a town in Brittany, one of the villains who had robbed him. They both drew without exchanging a single word, and the prowess of Smith gave him an easy victory over one, whose arm was paralysed by the consciousness of a bad cause. He obliged him to make an ample confession of his guilt in the presence of numerous spectators. He obtained nothing, however, but the barren laurels of victory, and directed his course to the seat of the Earl of Ployer, whom he had formerly known. By him he was treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality, and his purse liberally replenished. Taking leave of his friendly host, he travelled by a circuitous route to Marseilles, where he embarked for Italy.



New troubles awaited Smith in this passage. The author of the manuscript Latin memoir, alluded to in the Preface, remarks, that it is curious to observe how ingenious Fortune is in contriving peculiar disasters and perils to try the temper of heroes and great men, the ordinary mishaps of life not being sufficient for that purpose; a reflection naturally enough suggested by the adventures of his hero. On board the vessel was a great crowd of Catholic pilgrims of various nations, who were bound to Rome. They encountered a violent storm, which obliged them first to put into the harbor of Toulon, and afterwards to anchor under the small island of St. Mary, which lies off Nice, in Savoy. The enlightened devotees, who were sailing with him, took it into their heads, that the tempest was sent from heaven, as a manifestation of its displeasure at the presence of a heretic, who was, among so many of the true church, like "a dead fly in the compost of spices." They at first confined themselves to angry reproaches, directed not only against Smith himself, but against Queen Elizabeth, an object of especial dread and aversion to all good Catholics. Their displeasure soon displayed itself by more unequivocal signs. The writer above alluded to says that Smith disdained to stain his sword with the blood of so base a rabble, but that he belabored them soundly with a cudgel; but this probably belongs to that large class of facts, for which historians and biographers are indebted to their own imaginations.

Be that as it may, the result was, that Smith was thrown into the sea, like another Jonah, as a peace-offering to the angry elements. He was so near the island of St. Mary, that he could reach it without any difficulty by swimming. The next day, he was taken on board a French ship, commanded by Captain La Roche, a friend and neighbor of the Earl of Plover, who, for his sake, treated Smith with great kindness and consideration. They sailed to Alexandria, in Egypt, and, delivering their freight, coasted the Levant. In the course of their voyage they met with a Venetian argosy, richly laden. The captain of the French ship desired to speak to her,

but his motions were misconstrued by the Venetian ship, which fired a broadside into her, mistaking her probably for a pirate, or supposing, what was probable true in those troubled times, that he could expect none but the treatment of an enemy from those of any other than his own nation. An engagement naturally enough ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the Venetian vessel, after a loss of twenty men, her adversary losing fifteen. Her rich cargo was plundered by the victors, and the most valuable and least bulky portions of it taken on board their own vessel. The valor of Smith had been most signally displayed in this engagement, and he received, as his share of the spoils, five hundred sequins, besides a "little box" (probably of jewels) worth nearly as much more. He was set on shore in Piedmont, at his own request. He made the tour of Italy, and gratified his curiosity by a sight of the interesting objects with which that country is filled. Mindful of his original purpose, he departed from Venice, and travelling through Albania, Dalmatia, and Sclavonia, came to Gratz in Styria, the residence of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, afterwards Emperor of Germany.

The war was at that time raging between Rodolph the Second, Emperor of Germany, and Mahomet the Third, the Grand Signior. Smith's desire to display his prowess against the Turks was soon gratified. He met with two of his countrymen, who introduced him to Lord Eberspaught, Baron Kissell, and the Earl of Meldritch, all of them officers of distinction in the Imperial army.

This was in the latter part of the year 1601. The Turkish army, under the command of Ibrahim Bashaw, had besieged and taken, in the month of October, the strong fortress of Canisia, in Hungary, and were ravaging the neighboring country. They were laying siege to Olympach, with twenty thousand men, and had reduced the garrison, commanded by Eberspaught, to great extremities, having cut off all communication and supplies. Smith served as a volunteer in the army of the Baron Kissell, the general of artillery, who annoyed the besieg-

ers from without. He was desirous of sending a communication to the commander of the garrison, but found no one bold enough to undertake so perilous an enterprise. Smith then communicated to him a plan of telegraphic intercourse, which he had before made known to Lord Eberspaught, anticipating that the chances of war would give rise to an emergency, in which a knowledge of it might be highly useful. By Kissell's order, Smith was conveyed at night to a mountain seven miles distant from the town, and communicated with the commander of the garrison, and conveyed to him the following message. "On Thursday, at night, I will charge on the east; at the alarm sally you;" an answer was returned, "I will." The besieged were also aided further by Smith's inventive genius. On the eve of the attack, he had several thousand matches, fastened to strings, extended in a line and fired, so that the report sounded like a discharge of musketry, and gave to the Turks the impression that there was a large body of men in that quarter, and they consequently marched out to attack them, and at the same moment they found themselves assaulted by Baron Kissell's army and by the garrison of the besieged fortress, who had made the concerted sally. They were in consequence thrown into great confusion and made but a feeble resistance. Many of them were slain, and others driven into the river and drowned. Two thousand men were thrown into the garrison, and the Turks were obliged to abandon the siege. This brilliant and successful exploit obtained for our adventurer the command of a troop of two hundred and fifty horse in the regiment of Count Meldritch.\*

In the year 1601, the campaign began with great

\* Smith's telegraph was by means of torches, each letter from A to L being designated by showing one torch as many times as correspond to the letter's place in the alphabet; each letter from M to Z, in like manner, by showing two torches. It is essentially the same as that described in the tenth book of Polybius and in Rees's Cyclopædia, Art. *Telegraph*. Smith had probably met with it in Polybius, a writer whose military spirit would be congenial to his taste; and the use he thus made of his boyish acquisitions is a proof that a "little learning" may be a very good thing, even to a soldier.

spirit and vast preparations. The Emperor raised three armies, one commanded by Gonzago, Governor of Hungary, one by Ferdinand, Archduke of Styria, and the third by the Archduke Matthias, the Emperor's brother, whose lieutenant was Duke Mercury, who raised with him an army of thirty thousand men, and under whom Smith served. He laid siege to Alba Regalis, a strongly fortified town in Hungary. Smith's talents as an engineer were here called into exercise; for he contrived a sort of bomb or grenade, to be discharged from a sling, which greatly annoyed the Turks in their sallies, and two or three times set the suburbs of the place on fire. The city was finally taken by an ingeniously contrived and boldly executed military manœuvre; a loss so great to the Turks, that it is related that the Bashaw of Buda, who was a prisoner in Vienna, on hearing of it, abstained from eating a whole day, prostrate upon his face, praying to Mohammed, who, as he said, had been all that year angry with the Turks.

The Sultan had raised an army of sixty thousand men, under the command of Hassan Bashaw, for the purpose of relieving Alba Regalis. He, having heard of its capture, still continued his march, in the hope of taking it by surprise. Duke Mercury, though far inferior in numbers, marched out to meet him, and encountered him in a desperate battle on the plains of Girke, which resulted in the defeat of the Turks, with the loss of six thousand men. In this action Smith behaved with great valor, was severely wounded, and had a horse shot under him.

Duke Mercury, after this, divided his forces into three parts, one of which, under the command of Count Meldritch, was sent into Transylvania, which was the seat of a triple war. Sigismund Bathor, the native prince, was contending for his crown with the Emperor of Germany, and, at the same time, waging war against the Turks, who were also the foes of the Emperor; so that each party had their attention distracted and their forces thinned by a common enemy. Meldritch had been ordered to join the army of the Emperor, which was acting

against Sigismund. But Meldritch was himself a Transylvanian and little inclined to oppose himself to his countrymen, to whom he probably wished success in his heart. He and his officers were most of them soldiers of fortune, bound by slack allegiance to the Emperor, and ready, like Captain Dugald Dalgetty, to enlist under that leader; who could give them the highest pay and the best chance for gaining booty; and the Emperor, it seems, was not a very prompt paymaster. He therefore offered his services to Sigismund, by whom they were cordially accepted; and from him he obtained permission to turn his arms against the Turks, an enterprise to which he was stimulated by personal feeling, for they had possession of that part of Transylvania in which his own family estates were situated.

In the course of the desultory and partisan warfare which he carried on, he laid siege to Regal, a frontier town in the mountainous parts of Transylvania, so strong by nature and art as to be deemed impregnable, and garrisoned by a motley assemblage of Turks, Tartars, renegades, and robbers. Count Meldritch had with him eight thousand men, and he was afterwards joined by Prince Moyses with nine thousand more, to whom he surrendered the chief command.

The siege was long and obstinate, owing to the great strength of the place; and frequent and bloody, but indecisive skirmishes took place. The Turks grew insolent at the ill success of the Christians, and laughed to scorn their slow and ineffectual movements. One of their number, the Lord Turbashaw by name, a man of rank and military renown, sent a challenge to any captain of the Christian army, to fight with him in single combat, giving a reason characteristic of the times for this message, that it was to delight the ladies of Regal, "who did long to see some court-like pastime." So many were ready to accept this challenge, that their conflicting claims were settled by lot, and the choice fell upon Smith, who had burned for the privilege of meeting the haughty Turk.

On the day appointed for the combat, the ramparts of

the town were lined with ladies and soldiers. The Lord Turbashaw entered the lists in a splendid suit of armor, blazing with gold and jewels, and "on his shoulders were fixed a pair of great wings, compacted of eagles' feathers, within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones." He was attended by three Janizaries, one of whom bore his lance, and two walked by the side of his horse. Smith soon followed, attended by a single page bearing his lance, and rode by his antagonist, courteously saluting him as he passed. At the sound of the trumpet, they met in mid career, and the well-directed lance of Smith pierced through the visor into the brain of the Turk, and he fell dead from his horse, without having shed a drop of his adversary's blood. His head was cut off and borne in triumph to the Christian army, and his body given up to his friends.

The death of the Lord Turbashaw was heavily borne by the garrison; and a friend of his, by name Gualgo, burning to avenge him and to pluck the fresh laurels from Smith's brow, sent him a particular challenge, which was readily accepted, and the battle took place the next day after receiving it. At their first encounter, their lances were ineffectually shivered, though the Turk was nearly unhorsed. They then discharged their pistols, by which Smith was slightly wounded and his antagonist severely in the left arm. Being thus rendered unable to manage his horse, he offered a faint resistance, and was easily slain; and his horse and armor, by previous agreement, became the property of the victor.

The siege was slowly protracted in the mean while, and Smith found but few opportunities for signalizing his valor. His high spirit, flushed with success, could not brook the rust of repose; and he obtained leave of his general to send a message into the town, that he should be happy to furnish the ladies with further entertainment, and to give to any Turkish knight the opportunity of redeeming the heads of his slain friends, and carry off his own besides, if he could win it. The challenge was accepted by a stout champion, to whom the Fates had given the unharmonious name of Bonny Mulgro. Hav-

ing the privilege of choosing his own weapons, he avoided the lance, having had proof of Smith's dexterity in the use of it, and selected pistols, battle-axes, and swords. In the encounter, they discharged their pistols without effect, and then fought with their battle-axes. Smith seems to have been inferior to his adversary in the use of this weapon, for he received so heavy a blow, that the axe dropped from his hands and he nearly fell from his horse; and the Turks, seeing his mishap from the walls, set up a loud shout, as if the victory were already won. But Smith quickly recovered himself, and by his skilful horsemanship not only escaped the heavy blows aimed at him by the ponderous battle-axe, but ran his foe through the body with his sword. The ladies of Regal were certainly well entertained by our adventurer, and they could not complain of disappointment when he was master of the feast.

For these brilliant exploits, Smith was rewarded by suitable honors. He was conducted to his general's tent by a military procession, consisting of six thousand men, three led horses, and, before each, the head of one of the Turks he had slain, borne on a lance. The general received him with much honor, embraced him, and presented him with a horse superbly caparisoned, and a cimeter and belt worth three hundred ducats; and his colonel, Count Meldritch, made him major of his regiment.

The siege was prosecuted with renewed vigor; and the place was finally taken, and its brave garrison put to the sword, in retaliation of the same inhuman barbarity, which they had shown to the Christian garrison, from whom they took it. The prince of Transylvania, hearing of the valor of Smith, gave him his picture set in gold and a pension of three hundred ducats per annum. He also bestowed upon him a patent of nobility and a coat of arms bearing three Turks' heads in a shield, with the motto, "*Vincere est vivere.*"\* This patent was afterwards admitted and recorded in the Herald's College in England by Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms.

\* The date of this patent is December 3d, 1603, which was not until after Smith's return from his captivity.

## CHAPTER II.

*His Captivity, Escape, and Return to England.*

THE summer heaven of Smith's fortunes was soon to be overcast ; and fate had trials in store for him, far exceeding any he had before known. Sigismund, the prince of Transylvania, found that he could no longer maintain a war against the Emperor and the Turks at the same time, the resources of his flourishing principality being utterly exhausted by his long-continued and unequal struggle. He accordingly acknowledged the Emperor's authority, gave up his station as an independent prince, and passed the remainder of his days in the more obscure, but probably happier rank of a private nobleman in Prague, in the enjoyment of a munificent pension, which he had received in exchange for the uneasy splendor of a crown.

By this arrangement the armies of Sigismund were thrown out of employment, and transferred their allegiance to the Emperor. His generals were somewhat embarrassed by the presence of so many well disciplined and veteran troops, who were well known to be devotedly attached to their old master and not very fond of their new one ; and they were anxious to keep them constantly employed, well knowing that idleness is the mother of mutiny. An opportunity soon occurred ; for there was seldom peace in those days on the frontiers of Christendom and "Heathenesse."

The inhabitants of Wallachia, at that time a Turkish province, unable to endure the tyranny of their Waywode, or prince, revolted and applied to the Emperor for assistance, who gladly afforded it ; and the Earl of Meldritch, accompanied by numerous officers, and Smith among the rest, and by an army of thirty thousand men, who had served under Sigismund, went to support the claims of the new Waywode, Lord Rodoll. The former one,



whose name was Jeremy, had raised an army of forty thousand Tartars, Moldavians, and Turks, to maintain his pretensions. A bloody battle was fought between them, in which the Turkish army was totally defeated with the loss of twenty-five thousand men, and Wallachia became subject to the Emperor.

The deposed Waywode collected together some troops, and assumed a dangerous attitude in the neighboring province of Moldavia; and the Earl of Meldritch was sent to reduce him. He was successful in several skirmishes, in one of which he was materially assisted by Smith's ingenuity in the construction of fire-works, a gift which seems to have been peculiar to him. Pressing on too eagerly and incautiously, he was decoyed into an ambuscade, in a mountainous pass near the town of Rottenton, and attacked by an army of forty thousand men. The Christianr made a gallant and desperate resistance, but could avail nothing against such immense odds; and they were all slain or cut to pieces, except about thirteen hundred, who, with the Earl of Meldritch, escaped by swimming a river.

In this unhappy battle, were slain many gallant noblemen and gentlemen, the flower of Sigismund's army, and his most devoted friends, and, among the rest, nine Englishmen, whose names Smith affectionately preserves, who, for the sake of sustaining the cross and humbling the crescent, had exposed themselves to peril and death in an obscure war, and in a remote corner of Europe. Such is the soldier's unequal lot. Some are proudly slain on famous fields; "honor decks the turf that wraps their clay," and their names become in after times watch-words and rallying cries; while others, with arms as strong, hearts as brave, hopes as warm, and souls as aspiring, fall in petty skirmishes, the very spot of which soon becomes uncertain, and tradition itself preserves not a record of their names.

Smith was severely wounded and left for dead upon the field. Some sparks of life were found in him, and the Turks, judging him to be a man of distinction by the richness of his armor, healed his wounds in order to

secure a large ransom. As soon as he was recovered, he was taken to Axiopolis with many other prisoners, and there they were all sold, "like beasts in a market-place." Smith was sold to the Bashaw Bogall, who sent him to Constantinople as a present to his mistress, the young Charatza Tragabigzanda, (a name not very manageable in a sonnet,) telling her that he was a Bohemian nobleman, whom he had captured in war.

This young lady viewed with compassion the afflicted condition of her captive, who was at that time in the flower of his youth, and adorned with those manly graces, which make valor more attractive, and affliction more pitiable. Not having her time so much occupied as modern young ladies, she would often contrive an excuse for asking a question of the interesting captive who dwelt so much in her thoughts, as she had a slight knowledge of Italian. To her surprise she learnt, that the story told by her lover was a sheer fabrication, that Smith was an English gentleman, who had never seen the Bashaw till he had been bought by him in the market-place of Axiopolis. The tender feeling, with which she had, perhaps unconsciously to herself, begun to regard Smith, was probably increased by the indignation, with which she heard of the deception that had been practised upon her. She drew from him the whole story of his adventures, to which she did, like Desdemona, "seriously incline," and, like Desdemona, "she loved him for the dangers he had passed," as well as for his graceful manners, fascinating conversation, and that noble and dignified bearing, which the weeds of a captive could not conceal. She mitigated the pains of his captivity by all the means in her power; and, apprehensive lest her mother (who probably suspected the dangerous progress he was making in her daughter's affections) should sell him in order to remove him from her sight, she resolved to send him with a letter to her brother Timour, Bashaw of Nalbritz, in the country of Cambia, and province of Tartary, who resided near the borders of the sea of Azof.

In this letter she enjoined it upon her brother to treat Smith with the greatest kindness, and, to make "assurance

doubly sure," she frankly told him of the state of her feelings towards him, which disclosure had, however, upon the haughty Tartar an effect very different from what she anticipated. Highly incensed that his sister should have disgraced herself by an attachment to a Christian slave, he vented his displeasure upon its unfortunate object. He ordered his head to be shaved, his body to be stripped and clothed with a rough tunic of hair-cloth, and a large ring of iron to be fastened around his neck. He found many companions in misfortune, and, being the last comer, he was, as he says, "slave of slaves to them all;" though, he continues, "there was no great choice, for the best was so bad, that a dog could hardly have lived to endure."

Smith does not inform us of the length of his captivity, nor have we any data for ascertaining it, but it could not have been many months; for the battle, in which he was taken, was fought in 1602; and we hear of his return from slavery, to Transylvania, in December, 1603. He has left an account of the manners and customs, religion and government, of the "Crym-Tartars," as he calls them, which does credit to his powers of observation, and the retentiveness of his memory, but which would be neither new nor interesting to the reader. Of their offensive and comfortless style of living he speaks with the energy of personal disgust, but makes honorable mention of their justice and integrity. For their military equipments, knowledge, and discipline he expresses the contempt natural to a thorough master of the art of war, but does justice to their bravery, their skill in horsemanship, and their powers of endurance. The brave spirit of Smith could not be conquered even by the galling chains of bondage, which were rendered heavier by his despair of being ever able to throw them off; for he says, that "all the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thralldom was only the love of Tragabigzanda, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage; for, although he had often debated the matter with some Christians, that had been there a long time slaves, they could not find how to make an escape by any reason or possibility; but God, beyond

man's expectation or imagination, helpeth his servants, when they least think of help, as it happened to him." He was employed to thresh corn in a country-house belonging to Timour, which was a league distant from his residence. His cruel master, who felt a particular ill-will towards him, never passed him without displaying it by gross abuse, and even personal violence. His ill-treatment, on one occasion, was so outrageous, that Smith, maddened and transported beyond the bounds of reason by a sense of insult, and reckless of consequences, knowing that, happen what might, his miserable condition could not be changed for the worse, rose against him and beat out his brains with his threshing-flail. The instinct of self-preservation is fertile in expedients. He clothed himself in the rich attire of the slain Timour, hid his body under the straw, filled a knapsack with corn, mounted his horse, and galloped off to the desert.

Save the exulting sense of freedom, his condition was but little improved, however, and he could hardly hope for any thing but a death more or less speedy, according as he was recaptured or not. He was in the midst of a wild, vast, and uncultivated desert, dreading to meet any human beings, who might recognise him as a runaway slave by the iron collar which he still wore about his neck, and again reduce him to bondage. He wandered about two or three days without any end or purpose, and in utter loneliness and despair; but Providence, who had brought him out of captivity, befriended him still further, and directed his random steps to the main road, which leads from Tartary into Russia.

After a fatiguing and perilous journey of sixteen days, he arrived at Écopolis, upon the river Don, a garrison of the Russians; where, he says, "the governor, after a due examination of those his hard events, took off his irons, and so kindly used him, he thought himself new risen from death, and the good lady Calamata largely supplied his wants." This last clause is characteristic of Smith. His gentlemanly courtesy prompts him to acknowledge the kind attentions of a lady, while his modesty forbids him to mention any of the reasons which

induced her to take an interest in him, still less to exaggerate that interest into a warmer feeling.

Being furnished by the friendly governor with letters of recommendation, he travelled, under the protection of convoys, to Hermandstadt in Transylvania. His journey through these desolate regions was made delightful by the kind attentions which he constantly received. He says, "in all his life, he seldom met with more respect, mirth, content, and entertainment, and not any governor, where he came, but gave him somewhat as a present, beside his charges." Their own exposed situation on the frontiers made them constantly liable to be carried into slavery by the Tartars, and they could sympathize with one who had just escaped a fate of which they were continually apprehensive.

On his arrival in Transylvania, where he found many of his old friends and companions in arms, and where his brilliant exploits had made him generally known and popular, he was received with enthusiasm, as one risen from the grave, and overwhelmed with honors and attentions. He says, that "he was glutted with content and near drowned with joy," and that he never would have left these kind friends, but for his strong desire to "rejoice himself" in his own native country, after all his toils and perils. At Leipsic he met with his old colonel, the Earl of Meldritch, and Prince Sigismund, who gave him a diploma, confirming the title of nobility he had previously conferred upon him, and fifteen ducats to repair his losses. From thence he travelled through Germany, France, and Spain, visiting the places most worthy of note in each.

Hearing that a civil war had broken out in Barbary, eager to gain new honors and encounter new perils, he sailed in a French ship of war to the African coast, and went to the city of Morocco; but, finding that the contending parties were equally treacherous and unworthy, he refused to throw his sword into either scale. He describes some of the objects most worthy of note in the cities of Morocco and Fez, and gives a slight sketch of the conquests and discoveries of the Portuguese in the

southern portions of Africa. He departed from Morocco in the same vessel in which he had come, and which, on the voyage, sustained a desperate fight against two Spanish men-of-war, and succeeded in beating them off. He returned to his own country about the year 1604.

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### CHAPTER III.

*State of public Feeling in England in regard to Colonizing the Coast of America.—Smith becomes interested in the Subject.—Establishment of the Virginia and Plymouth Companies.—An Expedition sets Sail from England.—Dissensions on the Voyage.—Arrival in Virginia.*

THE times, of which we are writing, were fruitful alike in great enterprises and in great men. The brilliant discoveries of the Portuguese in the East, and of Columbus and Sebastian Cabot in the West, had startled the civilized world like the sound of a trumpet, and given to the human mind that spring and impulse, which are always produced by remarkable events. The fiery and adventurous spirits of Europe found the bounds of the old world too narrow for them, and panted for the untried spheres of our new and broader continents.

The wealth and fertility of the newly discovered lands, of course, lost nothing in the narratives of the few, who had by chance visited them, and returned home to astonish their admiring and less fortunate friends with tales of what they had seen and heard. They had seen climes which were the favorites of the sun, and his burning glances filled the earth, the air, and the sea with strange beauty. There were birds of gorgeous plumage, dazzling the eye with their motions and colors, flowers of the richest hues and most delicate odors, and aromatic forests that made the air faint with perfume, and “old

Ocean smile for many a league." But the most extravagant accounts were given of the mineral treasures of the new countries. Gold and silver were so plentiful, that the most common utensils were made of them; and every one had some story to tell of "the Eldorado, where" (in the words of Mike Lambourne in "Kenilworth") "urchins play at cherry-pit with diamonds, and country wenches thread rubies for necklaces instead of rowan-tree berries; where the pantiles are made of pure gold, and the paving-stones of virgin silver." The good and bad passions of men were alike stimulated. There were savages to be civilized and heathen to be converted; there were worlds to be conquered and laurels to be won; avarice was allured by dreams of untold wealth, and enterprise by prospects of boundless adventure.

England was strongly infected by the general feeling, and the genius and accomplishments of Sir Walter Raleigh kindled in all ranks a strong passion for foreign adventures. Several attempts had been made in the reign of Elizabeth, under the auspices of that remarkable man, to plant a colony in North America, the earliest settlement having been made, in 1585, on the island of Roanoke, in Albemarle Sound, on the coast of North Carolina; but no one had taken firm root. The history of these short-lived colonies, and an examination of the causes which led to their failure, would be out of place here.\*

At the time of Smith's arrival in England there was not any English colony on the continent of North America; but the public attention had been strongly awakened to the subject by the animated representations of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who, in 1602, had made a prosperous voyage to the coast of New England, and had, on his return, spoken in the warmest terms of its fertility and the salubrity of its climate, and strongly urged upon his countrymen the importance of colonizing it. He and

\* The reader will find a minute and accurate account of their fortunes in Stith's *History of Virginia*, and a succinct and well-written one in Grahame's *History of the United States*.

Captain Smith seem to have been drawn towards each other by that kind of instinct, which brings together kindred spirits, and Smith entered into his plans with characteristic ardor. It was indeed precisely the enterprise to be embraced by a man like Smith, who panted for action, who dreaded nothing so much as repose, who sighed for perils, adventures, "hair-breadth 'scapes," and "moving accidents by flood and field."

The statements of Gosnold having been amply confirmed by subsequent voyagers, and King James, who was well inclined to any plan, which would give employment to his frivolous and restless mind, and increase his power and consequence, encouraging the plan of establishing a colony, an association was formed for that purpose. Letters patent, bearing date April 10th, 1606, were issued to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluyt, and their associates, granting to them the territories in America, lying on the seacoast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, together with all islands situated within a hundred miles of their shores. The associates were divided into two companies, one consisting of London adventurers, to whom the northern part was assigned, and under whose auspices New England was afterwards settled. It was provided, that there should be at least one hundred miles' distance between the two colonies. The terms of this charter were strongly expressive of the king's arbitrary character, and of that jealous regard for his prerogatives, which, in after-times, proved so fatal to his race. The most important provision was, that the supreme government was vested in a council resident in England, to be nominated by the crown, and the local jurisdiction was confided to a colonial council, appointed and removable at the pleasure of the crown, who were to be governed by royal instructions and ordinances from time to time promulgated.

The royal favor was yet more abundantly vouchsafed to them. The king busied himself in the employment, highly agreeable to his meddling and insatiable vanity, of drawing up a code of laws for the colonies that were about to be planted; which, among other things, provided,



that the legislative and executive powers should be vested in the colonial council, with these important qualifications, however, that their laws were not to touch life or limb, that they should conform to the laws of England, and should continue in force only till modified or repealed by the king or the supreme council in England.

It was not until the 19th day of the following December, that an expedition set sail from England. This delay arose from a variety of causes, and especially a want of funds. On that day a hundred and five colonists embarked from London in a squadron of three small vessels, the largest of which did not exceed a hundred tons in burden. Among the leading adventurers were Captains Gosnold and Smith, George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, Edward M. Wingfield, a London merchant, and Mr. Robert Hunt, a clergyman. The transportation of the colony was intrusted to Captain Christopher Newport, who was esteemed a mariner of skill and ability on the American coast. Orders for government were given to them, sealed in a box, which was not to be opened till their arrival in Virginia.

They went by the old and circuitous route of the Canary Islands and the West Indies. Being detained by contrary winds for six weeks upon the coast of England, troubles and dissensions sprang up among them, as often occurs in those expeditions, in which unanimity and harmony of feeling are of the most vital importance. Peace was with difficulty restored by the mild and judicious counsels of Mr. Hunt, who, though afflicted with a severe illness and the object of special dislike to some of the leading men, (who, as we are told, were "little better than atheists,") devoted himself with unshaken firmness to his duty, and preferred the service of God and his country in a perilous and irksome enterprise, to the comforts and security of his own home, which was but twenty miles distant from the spot where the windbound fleet was lying.

On their arrival at the Canaries the flames of discord broke out with renewed fury, and Captain Smith became the victim of unjust suspicions and groundless enmity.

His high reputation and frank, manly bearing had made him popular with the majority of the colonists, and his influence over them had excited the envy and dislike of some of the leaders; while his pride of character and conscious innocence prevented him probably from making any exertions to conciliate them. He was accused by Wingfield and others of entering into a conspiracy to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia. Upon these ridiculous charges he was kept a prisoner during the remainder of the voyage.

From the Canaries they steered to the West Indies, where they traded with the natives, and spent three weeks in recruiting. They then set sail for the island of Roanoke, their original destination, but a violent storm providentially overtook them on the coast and carried them to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. They discovered land on the 26th of April, 1607, which they named Cape Henry, in honor of the Prince of Wales. They sailed into the James River, and explored it for the space of forty miles from its mouth. The appearance of the country on each side filled them with delight. It was fertile and well watered, the landscape picturesquely varied with hills, valleys, and plains, and newly decked with the green mantle of spring. To the sea-worn voyagers, the scene was like enchantment, and this spot seemed to be pointed out by the finger of Heaven, as their resting-place and home.

They were employed seventeen days in pitching upon a convenient spot for their settlement. Upon the very first day of their arrival they went on shore, and were attacked by some Indians, who came "creeping upon all fours, from the hills, like bears," and who wounded some of the party with their arrows, but were forced to retire by a discharge of muskets. They found, in one of the shallow rivers, abundance of oysters, "which lay on the ground as thick as stones," and in many of them there were pearls. Going on shore, says the writer,\* "we past through excellent ground, full of flowers of

\* See note on page 240.

vers kinds and colors, and as goodly trees as I have seen, as cedar, cypress, and other kinds; going a little farther we came to a little plat of ground, full of fine and beautiful strawberries, four times bigger and better than ours in England." The northern point at the entrance

Chesapeake Bay they named Point Comfort, because they found there deep water for anchorage, "which put them in good comfort." Landing on this point on the fourth day after their arrival, they saw five Indians, who were at first alarmed at the sight of the English, until they saw the captain lay his hand upon his heart," upon which they came boldly up and invited them to Accomack, their town. This invitation they accepted; and on arriving at the village they were kindly entertained by the Indians, who gave them corn-bread, tobacco, and apples, and expressed their welcome by a dance. Four days afterwards, they were kindly entertained by the chief of the Pashipahay tribe, and received an invitation from the chief of the Rappahannas to come and visit him. He sent them a messenger to guide them to his habitation, and stood on the banks of the river to meet them as they arrived, "with all his train," (says the writer,) "as goodmen as any I have seen of savages or Christians, the *erowance*\* coming before them, playing on a flute made of a reed, with a crown of deer's hair, colored red, in fashion of a rose, fastened about his knot of hair, and a great plate of copper on the other side of his head, with two long feathers in fashion of a pair of horns placed in the midst of his crown. His body was painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck; his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought; his ears all behung with bracelets of pearl, and in either ear a bird's claw through it, beset with fine copper or gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a prince of civil government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such behavior. He caused his mat to be spread on the

\* A name by which the chiefs of tribes in Virginia and its neighborhood were designated.

ground, where he sat down with a great majesty, taking a pipe of tobacco, the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested awhile, he rose and made signs to us to come to his town. He went foremost, and all the rest of his people and ourselves followed him up a steep hill, where his palace was settled. We passed through the woods in fine paths, having most pleasant springs which issued from the mountains. We also went through the goodliest cornfields that ever were seen in any country. When we came to Rappahanna town he entertained us in good humanity."

On the 8th day of May they went farther up the river. They went on shore in the country belonging to the tribe of Apamatica, where they were met by a large body of Indians armed "with bows and arrows in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backs beset with sharp stones and pieces of iron, able to cleave a man in sunder." But, on making signs of peace, they were suffered to land without molestation. On the 13th day of May, they pitched upon the place of settlement, which was a peninsula on the north side of James River, about forty miles from the mouth, to which they gave the name of Jamestown. The shore was so bold, that their ship could be in six fathoms of water, and be moored to the trees on the land.\*

From this date, the history of the United States of America begins, after a lapse of one hundred and ten years from the discovery of the continent by Sebastian Cabot, and twenty-two years after the first attempt to colonize it by Sir Walter Raleigh. Who can look back and compare the past with the present without reflections of the most serious and interesting cast? In this little handful of men, occupying a strip of land in the southeastern

\* This slight sketch of their proceedings, after their arrival in James River, and before they settled in Jamestown, is taken from a Narrative in Purchas, (Vol. IV. p. 1685,) written by George Percy, the brother of the Earl of Northumberland, one of the early settlers, and as distinguished for high character as for high birth. He succeeded Captain Smith as governor. His Narrative is comprised in six folio pages, and is very interesting.

corner of Virginia, surrounded by pathless woods and savage men, we behold the "seminal principle" of a mighty people, destined to subdue the vast continent to the mild sway of civilization, letters, and Christianity, and to connect two oceans by a living and unbroken chain. Owing their political existence to the charter of a tyrant, which deprived them of some of the most valuable privileges of Englishmen, the colonists laid the foundations of a state, in which the sternest and fiercest spirit of liberty was to be developed, and which was destined to break out, in little more than a century and a half, in deadly opposition to that mother-country, to whose ample robe they had so long clung for support; not so much to obtain redress for actual oppressions, as in denial of the right to oppress, and in defence of those principles of truth, freedom, political equality, and natural justice, which descended to them with their Saxon blood and Saxon speech. The tree of liberty was first planted in the soil of America by despotic hands. The results which followed the settlement of this country were such, as the most sagacious wisdom could not have foreseen, nor the most visionary enthusiasm have hoped. History, no less than revelation, teaches us our dependence upon a higher Power, whose wise and good plans we can as little comprehend as oppose, who is ever bringing real good out of seeming evil, and who, in the discipline with which he tries both men and nations, is ever making misfortune, discouragement, and struggle, the elements of unbounded growth, progress, and prosperity.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Early Struggles of the Colony.—Active Exertions of Captain Smith in Providing Food and Suppressing Insubordination.*

BEFORE going any further, it will be proper to give the reader a short account of the original inhabitants of the soil, as their history becomes almost immediately blended with that of the colony. At the time of the first settlement by the Europeans, it has been estimated that there were not more than twenty thousand Indians within the limits of the state of Virginia. Within a circuit of sixty miles from Jamestown, Captain Smith says, there were about five thousand souls, and of these scarce fifteen hundred were warriors. The whole territory between the mountains and the sea was occupied by more than forty tribes, thirty of whom were united in a confederacy under Powhatan, whose dominions, hereditary and acquired by conquest, comprised the whole country between the rivers James and Potomac, and extended into the interior as far as the falls of the principal rivers.

Campbell, in his "History of Virginia," states the number of Powhatan's subjects to have been eight thousand. Powhatan was a remarkable man; a sort of savage Napoleon, who, by the force of his character and the superiority of his talents, had raised himself from the rank of a petty chieftain to something of imperial dignity and power. He had two places of abode, one called Powhatan, where Richmond now stands, and the other at Werowocomoco, on the north side of York River, within the present county of Gloucester. He lived in something of barbaric state and splendor. He had a guard of forty warriors in constant attendance, and four sentinels kept watch during the night around his dwelling.

His power was absolute over his people, by whom he was looked up to with something of religious veneration. His feelings towards the whites were those of implacable enmity, and his energy and abilities made him a formidable foe to the infant colony.

Besides the large confederacy of which Powhatan was the chief, there were two others, with which that was often at war. One of these, called the Mannahoacs, consisted of eight tribes, and occupied the country between the Rappahannoc and York rivers; the other, consisting of five tribes, was called the Monacans, and was settled between York and James rivers, above the falls. There were also, in addition to these, many scattering and independent tribes.

Captain Smith describes at considerable length their manners and customs, dress, appearance, government, and religion. They did not differ materially in any of these respects, from the northern tribes. They had the straight black hair, the tall, erect, and graceful forms, and the copper complexion. Their characters displayed the same virtues and vices, which those, who are in any degree familiar with the early history of our country, recognise as peculiar to the Indian race. They were equally removed from the romantic *beau idéal*, which modern writers of fiction have painted, and the monstrous caricature, drawn by those, who, from interested motives, have represented them, as "all compact" of cruelty, treachery, indolence, and cowardice.

As soon as the colony had landed, the box containing their orders was opened; and it was found that Edward M. Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall were appointed a council. They were to choose a President from among their own number, who was to hold his office a year, with the privilege of having two votes. The council made choice of Mr. Wingfield as President.

It is curious that almost the first act of the council should have been one of disobedience to their superior power; for, though Captain Smith had been expressly

named one of the council, they excluded him, and gave their reasons for so doing in a speech made probably by the President, to the whole colony. However dissatisfied they might have been, the time was too precious to be spent in brawls and wrangling. All hands set themselves diligently to work. The council planned a fort, others cut down trees to clear a place to pitch their tents, while others were employed in making nets and preparing spots for gardens. The "overweening jealousy" of the President would not permit any military exercises or any fortifications to be erected, except a barrier of the boughs of trees in the shape of a half-moon. Soon after, an expedition was sent to discover the head of James river, consisting of twenty men, under the command of Newport and Smith, whose noble nature did not suffer him for a moment to abate any thing of his zeal for the good of the colony, under the influence of personal pique or disappointment. They passed by several habitations, and on the sixth day arrived at the falls, and erecting a cross, took possession of the country in the name of King James. Here they visited Powhatan, whose town consisted of but twelve houses pleasantly situated on a hill. He received them with seeming kindness, and gratefully accepted a hatchet which Captain Newport presented to him. Their further progress up the river was obstructed by the rapids or falls. They were kindly and hospitably treated by the natives, whom they encountered in their excursion.

On their return, they found, that the colony had in their absence suffered from the carelessness of the President in leaving them without military defences; for the Indians had attacked them, wounded seventeen men, and killed one boy. The writer of the narrative contained in Smith's History says, that had not a cross-bar shot from the ship, struck off a bough from a tree in the midst of the Indians and caused them to retire in affright, the colonists would have been entirely cut off, they being securely at work and unarmed. The President, made wiser by experience, ordered the fort to be palisadoed, the ordnance to be mounted, and the men to be armed



and exercised. They were frequently attacked by the savages, whose numbers and activity generally gave them the advantage, notwithstanding the superiority of the whites in arms.

At the end of six weeks, Captain Newport, who had been engaged merely to transport the colony, made preparations for returning to England. The enemies of Captain Smith pretended, out of compassion to him, a desire to refer him to the council in England to be reprimanded by them, rather than expose him to the publicity of a legal trial, which might injure his reputation and endanger his life. But he was not a man to be bullied or cajoled. He was strong, not only in the consciousness of innocence, but in the affections and respect of a large majority of the colonists. He loudly demanded a trial, the result of which was highly honorable to him. The arts of his enemies were revealed, and those who had been suborned to accuse him betrayed their employers. He was acquitted by acclamation, and the President condemned to pay a fine of two hundred pounds, which Smith generously added to the public property of the colony. Many other difficulties had arisen, which were amicably adjusted, by the "good doctrine and exhortation" of Mr. Hunt, who seems to have richly deserved the blessing promised to the peace-makers, and, by his influence, Captain Smith was admitted a member of council. On the next Sunday, they all partook of the communion, as a bond of Christian harmony, and a pledge that their recent reconciliation was sincere. On the following day, the Indians in the neighborhood voluntarily sued for peace. Captain Newport sailed for England, on the 15th of June, leaving one hundred and four persons behind, and promising to return again in twenty weeks with fresh supplies.

The colony, owing to gross mismanagement and improvidence in the council in England, were very inadequately furnished with provisions. While the ships remained, they did not suffer from want, as they could always, either for "love or money," obtain a portion of the sailors' stores, of which they had great abundance.

But this resource was cut off by the departure of the squadron, and they were reduced to a daily allowance of a half-pint of barley and the same quantity of wheat, both of the worst quality, and, from their long remaining in the ship's hold, alive with insects. Their historian says, with melancholy mirth, that "had they been as free from all sins as gluttony and drunkenness, they might have been canonized for saints;" for this wretched fare, with some sturgeon and shell-fish from the river, was all they had to subsist upon till the month of September. Disease and death made frightful havoc among them; for, besides their scanty and unhealthy food, their constitutions were weakened by extreme toil in the heat of the summer, by imperfect shelter, and by the sudden change from the habits and comforts of civilized life to constant labor and exposure. Before September, fifty of their number had died, including Captain Gosnold, the first projector of the expedition.

The President, Wingfield, by embezzling the public stores and converting them to his own use, had escaped the general famine and sickness,\* but had thereby much increased the dislike, which had always been felt towards him. In the beginning of the autumn he laid a plan to escape to England in the colony's bark, which treacherous conduct (to borrow the language of the historian) "so moved our dead spirits, that we deposed him." Captain John Ratcliffe was elected in his place. Kendall, who was concerned with him in the plot, was expelled from the council, so that it was now reduced to three members, the President, Martin, and Smith. After the discovery of this conspiracy, the sufferings of the colonists reached their utmost extent. Their provisions were consumed, no prospect of relief appeared, and they were in hourly expectation of an attack from the Indians, to whom they could have offered no effectual resistance, in their present enfeebled condition. But they, so far from doing them any violence, supplied them liberally

\* This charge seems hardly credible; but it is positively asserted by Smith, whose honesty and integrity are beyond suspicion, and not contradicted by any writer, to my knowledge.

with provisions; a treatment so welcome and unexpected, that the grateful piety of Smith ascribes it to a special interposition of divine Providence.\*

Smith's eminent abilities and high character, it was evident from the beginning, would sooner or later give him the first place in the colony, whatever might be his nominal rank. In times of peril and adversity, men, by a kind of unerring instinct, discover who is the ruling spirit, and put the helm into his hands as the only pilot that can weather the storm. Such times had now come upon the infant settlement, and they turned their eyes upon Smith, as the only man who could rescue them from the difficulties in which they were involved. The new President and Martin were neither able nor popular, and the official rank of the former was but dust in the balance, when weighed against Smith's native superiority. From this time the chief management of affairs devolved upon him.

He entered upon his duties with characteristic ardor and energy. He set about the building of Jamestown, and by kind words and encouraging promises, and, more

\* The writer in Smith's History acquits the council in England of all blame in respect to their scanty provisions, and sums up the causes, which led to their difficulties, in the following terms.

"And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the council to send forth men so badly provided, this incontestable reason will show them plainly they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits; first, the fault of our going was our own; what could be thought fitting or necessary we had, but what we should find or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant; and, supposing to make our passage in two months with victual to live and the advantage of the Spring to work, we were at sea five months, which we both spent our victual in passing and lost the opportunity of the time and season to plant, by the unskilful presumption of our ignorant transporters, that understood not at all what they undertook. Such actions have ever since the world's beginning been subject to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties, but nothing so difficult as to establish a commonwealth so far remote from men and means, and where men's minds are so untoward as neither to do well themselves nor suffer others." Stith, on the other hand, an accurate and painstaking writer, accuses the council and especially Sir Thomas Smith, their treasurer, of want of care and thoughtfulness, and says that the same mismanagement and carelessness marked the whole of that gentleman's administration of the affairs of the colony.

than all, by his own example, taking upon himself the most laborious and fatiguing duties, he pushed on the work with so much diligence, that he had in a short time provided most of them with lodgings, neglecting any for himself. Their stock of provisions being well nigh exhausted, he resolved to make search for a fresh supply. His ignorance of the language of the natives, and his want of men and equipments, were great impediments to the expedition, but no discouragement to his adventurous spirit. Attended by only five or six men, he went down the river in a boat, to Kecoughtan, where Hampton now stands. The natives, who were aware of their condition, treated them with contempt as poor, starved creatures, and, when invited to traffic, would scoffingly give them a handful of corn or a piece of bread in exchange for their swords, muskets, and clothing.

Finding that kind looks and courteous treatment produced only insult and contumely, Smith felt himself constrained by necessity to adopt a different course, though he frankly acknowledges that he thereby exceeded the terms of his commission. He discharged his musket among them and ran his boat ashore, the affrighted Indians betaking themselves to the shelter of the woods. Marching to their houses he found them abounding with corn; but he would not permit his men to touch it, expecting that the Indians would return in large numbers to attack him, in which expectation he was not disappointed. Sixty or seventy of them soon appeared, some painted black, some red, some white, and some party-colored, in a square column, singing and dancing, with their *Okee* borne before them. This was an idol made of skins, stuffed with moss, painted, and ornamented with copper chains. They were armed with clubs, shields, bows, and arrows, and boldly advanced upon the English, who received them with a volley of musketry, which brought many of them to the ground, and with them their idol. The rest fled in dismay to the woods. They sent a priest with a proposition to make peace and restore their idol. Smith told them, that, if six of them would come unarmed and load his boat with corn, he would

not only return them their idol, but give them beads, copper, and hatchets besides, and be their friend. These terms were accepted and the stipulations performed. They brought ample supplies, not only of corn, but of turkeys, venison, and wild fowl, and continued, until the English departed, singing and danoing in token of friendship.

The success of this expedition induced Captain Smith to repeat his excursions, both by land and water, in the course of one of which he discovered the people of Chickahominy, who lived upon the banks of the river of that name. The provisions, however, which he so carefully and toilsomely provided, the colonists improvidently wasted. Whenever Smith was out of sight, owing to the President's imbecility and Martin's ill health, every thing was in tumultuous confusion, like a school in the absence of its teacher. Wingfield and Kendall, who were smarting under their recent disgrace, took advantage of one of these seasons of insubordination to conspire with some disorderly malcontents, to escape to England in the bark, which by Smith's direction had been fitted up for a trading voyage to be undertaken the next year. Smith's unexpected return nipped their project in the bud, which was not done, however, without recourse to arms, and in the action Captain Kendall was slain. Soon afterwards the President and Captain Archer intended to abandon the country, which purpose was also frustrated by Smith, a circumstance which puts in the strongest light his power and influence. We are told, "that the Spaniard never more greedily desired gold than he victual, nor his soldiers more to abandon the country than he to keep it." Having found plenty of corn in the neighborhood of Chickahominy River, he made an excursion there, where he found hundreds of Indians awaiting his approach with loaded baskets in their hands. At the approach of winter too, the rivers were covered with swans, geese, and ducks, which, with corn, beans, and pumpkins, supplied by the Indians, furnished their tables amply and luxuriously. This abundance of good cheer had its natural effect in producing good-humor and curing homesickness, "none of our Tuftaffety humorists" (to borrow

a curious expression of the historian) desiring to return to England. A craving stomach has in all ages been the fruitful source of discontent and mutiny; and Captain Smith showed his knowledge of human nature, in taking so much pains to address it with the only arguments whose force it is capable of acknowledging.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Captain Smith's Captivity among the Indians.—His Life is saved by Pocahontas.—His Return to Jamestown.*

CAPTAIN SMITH'S gleams of prosperity and repose were, like the "uncertain glories of an April day," broken by constant interruptions of clouds and misfortune. He was murmured against by some cross-grained spirits, and even rebuked by the council, for his dilatoriness in not penetrating to the source of Chickahominy river, a charge, one would think, the most unreasonable that could be brought against such a man. Stung by these unmerited complaints, he immediately set out upon a new expedition. He proceeded as far as his barge could float, reaching that point with great labor, and having been obliged to cut a way through the trees which had fallen into the river. Having left the barge securely moored, with strict orders to his men not to leave it till his return, and taking with him two Englishmen and two Indians as guides, he went higher up in a canoe. This he left in charge of the Englishmen and went up twenty miles further to the meadows at the head of the river, where he occupied himself in shooting game. The disorderly and ill-disciplined crew, whom he had left in charge of the barge, had disobeyed his injunctions and gone straggling into the woods. They were suddenly attacked by a party of three hundred bowmen commanded by

Opechancanough, King of Pamunkey and brother to Powhatan, and one of their number, George Cassen by name, was taken prisoner. The rest, with great difficulty, regained their barge. The Indians extorted from their prisoner information of the place where Captain Smith was, and then put him to death in the most barbarous manner. In their pursuit of Captain Smith, they came upon the two men, by name Robinson and Emry, who had been left with the canoe and who were sleeping by a fire, and discharged their arrows at them with fatal effect. Having discovered Smith, they wounded him in the thigh with an arrow. Finding himself beset with numbers, he bound one of his Indian guides to his left arm with his garters as a buckler, and defended himself so skilfully with his gun, that he killed three and wounded many others. His enemies retreating out of gun-shot, he attempted to reach his canoe, but paying more heed to his foes than to his own footsteps, he sunk, with his guide, up to the middle in a treacherous morass. Helpless as he was, his bravery had inspired such terror, that they dared not approach him, until, being almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms and surrendered himself. They drew him out, and led him to the fire, by which his slain companions had been sleeping, and diligently chafed his benumbed limbs.

Though in expectation of an immediate and cruel death, his presence of mind did not forsake him, and his inexhaustible resources were not found wanting in that trying hour, when he was an unarmed captive in the hands of merciless savages. Without asking for his life, which would only have lowered the respect with which his bravery had inspired them, he demanded to speak with their chief. When he was presented to him, he showed to him a pocket compass which he happened to have with him. The tremulous vibrations of the needle, which they could see, but not touch, on account of the glass, amused and surprised the Indians; and when Captain Smith, partly by language, he having acquired some knowledge of their tongue, and partly by signs, proceeded to explain to them the nature and properties of this won-

derful instrument, and the discoveries to which it had led, and also described to them the courses of the heavenly bodies, the spherical shape of the earth, the alternations of day and night, the extent of the continents, oceans, and seas, the variety of nations and their relative position, which made some of them antipodes to others, they were filled with wonder and amazement.\*

Notwithstanding this, within an hour they tied him to a tree and prepared to shoot him with their arrows. But when the chief held up the compass, they threw down their arms, and led him in a sort of triumphal procession, to Orapax, a village situated a few miles northeast of where Richmond now stands. They marched in single file, their chief being in the midst, with the English swords and muskets borne before him. After him came Captain Smith held by three stout men, and on each side six archers. When they arrived at the village, the women and children flocked round to behold their pale-faced captive. The warriors who conducted him, after some military manœuvres, placing Smith and their chief in the midst, performed a war dance around them with frightful yells and strange contortions of their limbs and features. After this dance had been thrice performed, they conducted him to a "long house," where he was guarded by forty men. He was served so liberally with provisions, that he supposed their intention was to fatten and eat him, a reflection which did not at all tend to sharpen his appetite.

At this time one of those little incidents occurred which show that even barbarous manners, fierce hostility, and familiarity with scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, cannot turn the heart wholly into stone, or quench the natural

\* The above is the account contained in Smith's History, and, of course, came originally from Smith himself. It is impossible to believe, that the ignorant Indians could have comprehended such abstruse matters. They probably regarded the compass as the Englishman's god, a "great medicine," like the wig of the officer, which came off when grasped by his swarthy foe, and cheated him of a scalp to his inexpressible amazement. A wig and a mariner's compass would be equally mysterious, and entitled to equal reverence, in the eyes of these untutored children of nature. "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico.*"



instinct of compassion. An Indian to whom Smith, upon his first arrival in Virginia, had given some beads and trinkets, brought him a garment of furs, which was a most acceptable present, as he was well nigh perishing with the cold, which in that year (1607) was very great both in Europe and America. The name of this grateful and benevolent savage was Maocassater. I take pleasure in recording it, as well as the anecdote, which has made it so deserving of being preserved, and is so delightful an exception to the acts of cruelty, treachery, and oppression, that generally mark the conduct of both whites and Indians towards each other.

Two days after this, he was attacked, and, but for his guard, would have been killed, by an old Indian, whose son was lying at the point of death. Whether this was a natural sickness, which the father supposed was occasioned by the sorceries of Smith, and was therefore provoked to seek revenge, or whether he had been wounded by Smith before his capture, we do not learn; probably the latter. They brought him to the dying man's side, in hopes that he might recover him. Smith told them that he had a medicine at Jamestown which would restore him. But they would not permit him to go after it.

The Indians were making great preparations to attack Jamestown, and desired to secure Smith's aid and cooperation. They promised him in return for his services, not only life and liberty, but as much land and as many women as he could wish. He endeavored to dissuade them from their attempt, and pointed out the formidable dangers to which they would be exposed from the springing of mines, the cannons, and warlike engines; to which they listened with alarmed attention. In order that his statements might be confirmed, he proposed to send messengers to the colony, to which they assented. He wrote a note, in which he informed his countrymen of the plans in agitation against them, desired them to send him certain enumerated articles, and to give the messengers a wholesome fright, at the same time informing these last of all that would happen to them. These men started off in a season of extreme cold and arrived at

Jamestown. Seeing men come out to meet them, as Smith had told them would be the case, they fled in dismay, leaving their note behind them. Coming again in the evening, they found the articles mentioned in the note, in the very spot where Smith told them to look for them. They returned in three days and related their adventures, to the great amazement of all, who supposed, that "he could either divine, or the paper speak."

This incident, which confirmed their suspicion of Smith's supernatural powers, induced them to lay aside all thoughts of attacking Jamestown. They then carried him about in triumph through the country, showing him to the various tribes which dwelt on the Rappahannoc and Potomac rivers, and finally brought him to Pamunkey, the residence of Opechancanough, which was situated near the fork of York river. Here they performed a strange ceremony, the object of which was, as they told him, to ascertain whether his intentions towards them were friendly or not. The following was the order of performances. Early in the morning, a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on each side, on one of which he was seated, and then his guard retired. "Presently came skipping in a great, grim fellow, all painted over with coal, mingled with oil, and many snakes' and weasels' skins stuffed with moss, and all their tails tied together, so as they met on the crown of his head in a tassel; and round about the tassel was a coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, back, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voice and a rattle in his hand." This personage, who was a priest, commenced his invocation by a variety of wild gestures and grimaces, and concluded by surrounding the fire with a circle of meal. This being done, "three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks," whose bodies were painted half black and half red, and their faces daubed with red and white streaks to resemble mustachios. These three danced about for some time, "and then came in three more as ugly as the rest," with their eyes painted red and with white streaks upon their black

faces. Finally, they all seated themselves opposite to the prisoner, three on the right hand of the priest and three on his left. They then began a song, accompanying it with their rattles; and when this was done, the chief priest laid down five grains of corn, and after a short oration, attended with violent muscular exertion, laid down three more. After that they began their song again, and then another oration, laying down as many grains of corn as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. Then, continuing the incantation, they laid sticks between the divisions of the corn. The whole day was spent in these ceremonies, during which time neither Smith nor the performers tasted food, but at night they feasted abundantly on the best provisions they had. These rites were continued for three successive days. They told him that the circle of meal signified their own country, the circles of corn the bounds of the sea, and the sticks his country. They imagined the world to be flat and round like a trencher, and themselves to be placed in the middle of it.

They afterwards showed him a bag of gunpowder, which they had taken from him or his companions, and which they carefully preserved till the next spring to plant, as they did their corn, supposing it to be a grain. He was afterwards invited by Opitchapan, the second brother of Powhatan, to his house, and sumptuously entertained; but here, as on all other occasions, none of the Indians would eat with him, though they would partake of the portions which he left unconsumed.

At last they brought him to Werowocomoco, the residence of Powhatan, which was situated on the north side of York river, in Gloucester county, about twenty-five miles below the fork of the river. It was at that time Powhatan's principal place of residence, though afterwards, not being pleased with its proximity to the English, he removed to Orapax. Upon Smith's arrival in the village, he was detained, until the Indian emperor and his court could make suitable preparations to receive their captive in proper state. In the mean while, more than two hundred of his "grim courtiers" came to gaze at

him, as if he had been a monster. Powhatan, who was at that time about sixty years old, is described as having been, in outward appearance, "every inch a king." His figure was noble, his stature majestic, and his countenance full of the severity and haughtiness of a ruler, whose will was supreme and whose nod was law. He received Captain Smith with imposing, though rude ceremony. He was seated on a kind of throne, elevated above the floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire. He was clothed with a robe of raccoon skins. Two young women, his daughters, sat one on his right and the other on his left; and on each side of the hut there were two rows of men in front, and the same number of women behind. These all had their heads and shoulders painted red. Many had their hair ornamented with the white down of birds. Some had chains of white beads around their necks, and all had more or less of ornament. When Smith was brought home, they all set up a great shout.

Soon after his entrance, a female of rank was directed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought a bunch of feathers instead of a towel to dry them with. They then feasted him in the best manner they could, and held a long and solemn consultation to determine his fate. The decision was against him. Two large stones were brought in and placed before Powhatan, and Smith was dragged up to them and his head was placed upon them that his brains might be beaten out with clubs. The fatal weapons were already raised and the stern executioners looked for the signal, which should bid them descend upon the victim's defenceless head. But the protecting shield of divine Providence was over him, and the arm of violence was arrested. Pocahontas, the King's favorite daughter,—at that time a child of twelve or thirteen years of age,—finding that her piteous entreaties to save the life of Smith were unavailing, rushed forward, clasped his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it, determined either to save his life, or share his fate. Her generous and heroic conduct touched her father's iron heart, and the life of the captive was spared,

to be employed in making hatchets for himself, and bells and beads for his daughter.

The account of this beautiful and most touching scene, familiar as it is to every one, can hardly be read with unmoistened eyes. The incident is so dramatic and startling, that it seems to preserve the freshness of novelty amidst a thousand repetitions. We could almost as reasonably expect an angel to have come down from heaven, and rescued the captive, as that his deliverer should have sprung from the bosom of Powhatan's family. The universal sympathies of mankind and the best feelings of the human heart have redeemed this scene from the obscurity which, in the progress of time, gathers over all, but the most important events. It has pointed a thousand morals and adorned a thousand tales. Innumerable bosoms have throbbed and are yet to throb with generous admiration for this daughter of a people, whom we have been too ready to underrate. Had we known nothing of her, but what is related of her in this incident, she would deserve the eternal gratitude of the inhabitants of this country; for the fate of the colony may be said to have hung upon the arms of Smith's executioners. He was its life and soul, and, without the magic influence of his personal qualities, it would have abandoned, in despair, the project of permanently settling the country, and sailed to England by the first opportunity.

The generosity of Powhatan was not content with merely sparing his prisoner's life. He detained him but two days longer. At the end of that time, he conducted him to a large house in the woods, and there left him alone upon a mat by the fire. In a short time, from behind another mat that divided the house, "was made the most dolefullest noise he ever heard; then Powhatan, more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more, as black as himself," came in and told him, that they were now friends, and that he should return to Jamestown; and that if he would send him two pieces of cannon and a grindstone, he would give him the country of Capahowsic, and esteem him as his own son. He was faithful to his word, and despatched him immediately,

with twelve guides. That night they quartered in the woods; and during the whole journey, Captain Smith expected every moment to be put to death, notwithstanding Powhatan's fair words. But, as the narrative of his adventures has it, "Almighty God, by his divine Providence, had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion." Smith reached Jamestown in safety, after an absence of seven weeks, and treated his savage guides with great hospitality and kindness. He showed them two demi-culverins and a millstone, which they proposed to carry to Powhatan, but found them too heavy. He ordered the culverins to be loaded with stones and discharged among the boughs of a tree covered with icicles, in order to magnify to them the effects of these formidable engines. When they heard the report and saw the ice and the branches come rattling down, they were greatly terrified. A few trinkets restored their confidence, and they were dismissed with a variety of presents for Powhatan and his family.

The generous conduct of Powhatan, in restoring a prisoner who had given such fatal proofs of courage and prowess, is worthy of the highest admiration. There is hardly any thing in history, that can afford a parallel to it. He was stimulated to take the prisoner's life, not only by revenge, a passion strongest in savage breasts, but by policy and that regard to his own interests, which Christian and civilized monarchs are justified in observing. He seems to have acted from some religious feeling, regarding Smith, either as a supernatural being, or as under the special protection of a higher power. How far this may have actuated him, or how far he may have been influenced by affection for his daughter, it is impossible to say; but, supposing both to have operated, we only elevate his conduct by elevating his motives. He must have been a noble being, indeed, in whom religion or domestic affection could overcome the strong impulses of passion, revenge, and interest.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Arrival of Newport from England.—His Visit to Powhatan.—His Return.*

SMITH'S absence from Jamestown seems to have been always attended with evil consequences to the colony. The moment his back was turned, the unruly spirits, whom he alone could curb, broke out into disaffection and mutiny. He found "all in combustion" on his return. The colony was split into two factions, the stronger of which was preparing to quit the country in the bark. Captain Smith, at the hazard of his life, defeated this project, bringing his cannon to bear upon the bark, and threatening to sink her if they did not stay. In revenge for this, a conspiracy was formed by several, and among them the President, to put him to death, for the lives of Robinson and Emry, whom, they said, he had led to their death, and he was consequently guilty of their murder. Such cobweb meshes as these could not hold a man like Smith; for "he quickly took such order with such lawyers, that he laid them by the heels, till he sent some of them prisoners to England." His relation of the plenty he had witnessed in the Indian territory, and of the power and liberality of Powhatan, cheered their drooping spirits, which were revived and sustained by the kindness of Pocahontas; whose deliverance of Smith was not a transient impulse, but consistent with her whole character, and who, with her attendants, every four or five days brought them abundance of provisions, thereby saving the lives of many that must otherwise have perished with hunger. The savages also came in great numbers, bringing presents continually to Captain Smith, and offering commodities for sale, at the prices which he himself set. His influence over them was unbounded, and they were ready, at his nod, to do any

thing he required. They knew that he worshipped one supreme God, the Creator and Preserver of all things, whom they would call, in conversation, the God of Captain Smith.

This high opinion was much confirmed by the arrival of Captain Newport, at the time at which Smith had predicted to them it would happen, being in the latter part of the year 1607. Two ships had sailed from England, one commanded by Newport, and the other by Captain Nelson, the latter of which was dismasted on the coast of America, and blown off to the West Indies. Newport brought with him a reenforcement of men and provisions, and all things necessary. His arrival was a source of great joy to the colonists, but was in the end productive of some embarrassments. The President and council, (Ratcliffe and Martin, Smith himself being the third,) who had been always jealous of Smith's influence over the natives, endeavored to raise their credit and authority over them higher than his, by giving them four times as much for their goods as he had appointed. To gratify the mariners also, they gave them liberty to trade as much as they pleased; and the consequence was in a short time, that the market was so glutted, that a pound of copper could not procure what was formerly obtained for an ounce, the laws of political economy operating, before the science was heard of. Their trade was also injured by Captain Newport, who lavished his presents with the profuseness of a true sailor. They served, however, to impress Powhatan with a high idea of Newport's greatness, and made him very desirous of seeing him.

Accordingly the bark was prepared for a visit to Powhatan. Captain Newport was attended by Smith and Mr. Matthew Scrivener, a gentleman of sense and discretion, who had come over with Newport, and been admitted a member of the council, and by a guard of thirty or forty men. When they came to Werowocomoco, Newport began to entertain suspicions of treachery. They were obliged to cross many creeks and streams on bridges loosely made of poles and bark, and so frail that



he imagined them to be traps set by the Indians. But Smith assured him there was nothing to fear, and with twenty men, leaving the bark, undertook to go forward and accomplish the journey alone. He went on, and was met by two or three hundred Indians, who conducted him and his companions into the town. He was received with shouts of welcome on all sides. Powhatan exerted himself to the utmost to set before him the most sumptuous and plentiful banquet he could provide. Four or five hundred men attended as a guard, and proclamation was made, that no one should do any harm to the English on pain of death.

The next day Newport came on shore, and was likewise warmly and hospitably received. An English boy, named Thomas Savage, was given by him to Powhatan, and he received in exchange, an intelligent and faithful Indian, named Namontack. Three or four days they spent in feasting, dancing, and trading, during which time the old chief behaved with such dignity, discretion, and propriety, as impressed his English visitors with the highest opinion of his natural capacity. His shrewdness in driving a bargain was displayed in a manner, which, but for Smith's superior tact, would have resulted in the great pecuniary loss of the English.

He would not condescend to haggle and barter for specific articles, as his subjects did, and told Captain Newport that it was not agreeable to his greatness "to trade for trifles in this peddling manner," and that, as they were both great and powerful men, their mutual transactions ought to be conducted on a scale of proportionate magnitude. He proposed to him, that Newport should lay down his commodities in a lump, and that he should select from them what he wanted, and give in return what he considered an equivalent. The proposal was interpreted to Newport by Smith, who, at the same time, told him that all these fine words meant merely that Powhatan intended to cheat him if he could, and warned him not to accept his terms. Newport, however, who was a vain, ostentatious man, expecting to dazzle the chief with his greatness, or charm him with his liberality,

accepted them, in the hope of having any request, he might make, readily granted. The result proved that Smith was right ; for Powhatan, in selecting the articles that he wished and giving others in return, valued his corn at such a rate, that, as the writer of the narrative says, it might have been bought cheaper in old Spain, for they hardly received four bushels where they counted upon twenty hogsheads.

Smith was much provoked at Newport's being so palpably overreached, but dissembling his chagrin so as to avoid suspicion, he determined to obtain an equivalent advantage over the wily savage. He took out, as if accidentally, a variety of toys and gewgaws, and contrived to let Powhatan observe some blue beads. His eyes sparkled with pleasure at the sight, and he eagerly desired to obtain them. Smith, however, was reluctant to part with them, they being, as he said, composed of a very rare substance, of the color of the skies, and fit to be worn only by the greatest kings in the world. Powhatan's ardor was inflamed by opposition, and he resolved to have the precious jewels at any price. A bargain was finally struck to the satisfaction of all parties, by which Smith exchanged a pound or two of blue beads for two or three hundred bushels of corn. A similar negotiation was entered into with Opechancanough at Pamunkey. These blue beads were held in such estimation among the Indians, that none but their principal chiefs and the members of their families were allowed to wear them.

They returned with their treasures to Jamestown, where, shortly after, a fire broke out, which burnt several of their houses, (they being thatched with reeds, which rendered them very combustible,) and occasioned them a considerable loss in arms, bedding, wearing-apparel, and provision. Among the principal sufferers, was their good clergyman, Mr. Hunt, who lost all he had, including his books, which must have been a most severe affliction to a scholar in that lone wilderness. Yet we are told, that no one ever heard him repine on account of his loss. Notwithstanding this misfortune, their remaining stock of oat-meal, meal, and corn would have

been sufficient for their wants, had not the ship loitered in the country fourteen weeks, when she might have sailed in fourteen days, and thereby greatly increased the number of mouths to be fed. They were also obliged, on the departure of the ship, to furnish to the crew abundant provisions without any equivalent, as they had neither money, goods, nor credit. All this was to be done cheerfully, that the report of it might induce others to come, and gain "golden opinions" for them from the council at home. "Such," says Stith, "was their necessity and misfortune, to be under the lash of those vile commanders, and to buy their own provisions at fifteen times their value; suffering them to feast at their charge, whilst themselves were obliged to fast, and yet dare not repine, lest they should incur the censure of being factious and seditious persons." Their stock of provisions was so contracted by these means and by their unlucky fire, that they were reduced to great extremity. The loss of their houses exposed many, with very imperfect shelter, to the severity of a most bitter winter; and not a few died before spring, from the combined effects of cold and hunger.

The delay of Newport's ship was occasioned by one of those gold-fevers which break out so frequently among men, to the great prejudice of their reason and common sense. As it is well known, the most extravagant notions were entertained in Europe of the riches of the New World; and it is not going too far to say, that it was thought impossible to thrust a shovel into American soil, without bringing up a lump of gold. As a proof that Virginia formed no exception to this general rule, among those who left England with Captains Newport and Nelson, were two goldsmiths, two refiners, and one jeweller, artificers, one would think, in very little demand in a new colony, where most men would, like *Æsop's* cock, prefer a grain of barley to the most precious gem in the world.\*

\* There appears to have been a great want of judgment shown in the selection of the colonists. Of eighty-two persons, whose names are preserved, that first came over to Jamestown, forty-eight were

In a small rivulet near Jamestown was found a glittering, yellowish sand, (its lustre probably derived from particles of mica,) which their excitable imaginations immediately believed to be gold. This became the all-absorbing topic of thought and discourse, and "there was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." The unskilful refiners, whom Newport had brought over with him, pronounced this shining sand to be very valuable ore, forgetting that "all that glisters is not gold." This, of course, carried the frenzy to its height, and, confirmed by the testimony of men of supposed skill and experience, every one indulged in the most magnificent visions of wealth and aggrandizement. Nothing would content Newport, but the freighting of his ship with this worthless trash, to the great mortification and chagrin of Captain Smith, who was no believer in golden dreams, and foresaw the evil consequences of

designated gentlemen, four were carpenters, twelve were laborers, and the others boys and mechanics. Of seventy-four names of those who came out with Newport and Nelson, (one hundred and twenty in all,) thirty-two were gentlemen, twenty-three were laborers, six were tailors, and two apothecaries. These "gentlemen" were probably dissolute, broken-down adventurers, bankrupts in character as well as fortune, needy and extravagant younger sons of good families, whom their friends were happy to be quit of on any terms; incapable alike of industry and subordination, indolent, mutinous, and reckless. These are the men, who so constantly tried the patience of Smith, a saving grace, which, as the reader may have perceived, he had not in great abundance; and who provoked him to write in the following terms; "Being for the most part of such tender educations and small experience in martial accidents, because they found not English cities, nor such fair houses, nor at their own wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and down pillows, taverns and ale-houses in every breathing place, neither such plenty of gold and silver and dissolute liberty, as they expected, they had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our pinnaces, or procure their means to return for England. For the country was to them a misery, a ruin, a death, a hell, and their reports here and their actions there according." Another writer, describing the character of the colonists at the time of Smith's departure for England, observes, after enumerating a few useful mechanics, "All the rest were poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth, than either begin one, or but help to maintain one."—*Smith's Virginia, (Richmond Edition,)* Vol. I. p. 241.

neglecting duties of the most important nature, to chase phantoms and bubbles. The writer of this portion of the History of the Colony says, "Never did any thing more torment him, than to see all necessary business neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded dirt." Wingfield and Captain Archer returned with Newport to England, which afforded to Smith a slight balm of consolation for his troubles and vexations.

As soon as the spring opened, Smith and Scrivener (who had been admitted a member of the council) set themselves diligently to work to rebuild Jamestown, to repair the church, storehouse, and fortifications, and to cut down trees and plant corn for the ensuing season. While they were thus occupied, Captain Nelson arrived in the Phoenix, from the West Indies, where he had remained during the winter. He was received with great joy, as he had long been given up for lost. He brought an ample stock of provisions, enough to relieve the colony from all apprehensions of want for the next half-year. His generous and manly conduct endeared him to the settlers, and his presence seemed to diffuse a general activity and spirit of enterprise among them. Even the President was roused from his usual sluggishness and imbecility; for, says the writer of this portion of the History, "to re-lade this ship with some good tidings, the President (not holding it stood with the dignity of his place to leave the fort) gave order to Captain Smith to discover and search the commodities of the Monacans' country beyond the falls." Sixty men were allotted to him for this expedition, which he was prevented from undertaking, by troubles near at hand.

At Captain Newport's departure, Powhatan, who perceived the superiority of the English weapons over the rude ones of his own people, made him a present of twenty turkeys, as a token of his regard, desiring him to send in return twenty swords, which request was inconsiderately granted. He afterwards made a similar present to Captain Smith, expecting a like return; but, finding himself disappointed, he ordered his people to hover round Jamestown, and take possession of the

Englishmen's weapons, whenever they had an opportunity, either by stratagem or force. These orders were faithfully executed, and were productive of great annoyance and inconvenience to the colonists. No notice was taken of their depredations for a time, because they had strict orders from England to keep on the best possible terms with Powhatan and his people. "This charitable humor prevailed till well it chanced they meddled with Captain Smith," who then took the matter into his own hands, and acted with such promptness and energy, punishing so severely the offenders whom he detected, that Powhatan found he was playing a losing game; so "he sent his messengers and his dearest daughter Pocahontas with presents, to excuse him of the injuries done by some rash untoward captains, his subjects, desiring their liberties for this time with the assurance of his love for ever."\* Smith dismissed his prisoners, after giving them "what correction he saw fit," pretending to be thus merciful only for the sake of Pocahontas. His conduct was too resolute and spirited to meet the approbation of his colleagues in the council; though it had struck such terror into the Indians, and that too without any bloodshed, that they no longer molested the colonists, whereas before they "had sometime peace and war twice in a day, and very seldom a week but they had some treacherous villany or other."

The Phoenix was sent home, in June, 1608, with a load of cedar, by Captain Smith's influence; though Martin was very anxious that she also should be loaded with golden sand. He was "willingly admitted" to return with her to England, being a sickly and inefficient man, and having his head so full of golden dreams, as to make him useless, whatever might have been his natural capacity.

\*How consistent is tyranny! Powhatan's disavowal of his express orders is worthy of King John or Louis the Eleventh.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Captain Smith explores the Chesapeake in two Expeditions.  
—He is chosen President of the Colony.*

THE enterprising character of Captain Smith prompted him to an arduous undertaking, namely, the examination and survey of Chesapeake Bay, to ascertain more completely the resources of the country and to open a friendly communication with its native inhabitants. He set out in an open barge, of about three tons' burden, accompanied by Dr. Russell and thirteen others. They left Jamestown on the 2d of June, 1608, in company with the *Phoenix*, and parted with her at Cape Henry. They then crossed the bay to the eastern shore and fell in with a cluster of islands east of Cape Charles, to which they gave the name of Smith's Isles, in honor of their commander, an appellation still retained.

They were directed by two Indians, whom they saw, to Accomac, the habitation of their chief, situated in the southwestern part of Northampton county. He received them with kindness, and is spoken of by them as the most affable and good-looking savage they had ever seen. He spoke the language of Powhatan, and told them that his people had been afflicted with a heavy pestilence, which had carried them almost all off. They then coasted along the eastern shore of the bay, searching every inlet that seemed proper for habitations or harbors, and landing frequently, sometimes upon the main land, sometimes upon the islands, which they called Russel's Islands, since called Tangier Islands. They discovered and sailed up the river Pocomoke in search of fresh water, for want of which they suffered a good deal, that which they obtained being very muddy.

Leaving this river, they directed their course to certain other islands, and when they were among them, their sail

and mast were blown overboard by a sudden squall, and for two days the weather was so stormy, that they had great difficulty in keeping their boat from sinking. They named these islands Limbo, in commemoration of their toils and sufferings, a name which has since been changed to Watts's Islands.

Departing from these islands, they came to the river Wicomico, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where the natives were at first disposed to resist them, but were conciliated and made friendly by some toys left in their huts, after they had been a little frightened by discharges of fire-arms. These Indians were the wealthiest and most given to commerce and manufactures of any they had ever seen. Finding the eastern coast lined with low, irregular islands, and for the most part without fresh water, they directed their course westward to the mouth of Patuxent River. They sailed thirty leagues further to the north without finding any inhabitants, the coast being well watered but mountainous and barren, except the valleys, which were fertile, well wooded, and abounding in wolves, bears, deer, and other animals. They passed by many coves and small streams, and came to a large river, which they named Bolus, and which was probably that now called Patapsco. At this place, discontent broke out among Smith's crew, who were most of them unaccustomed to a life of such toil and hardship. They had spent twelve or fourteen days in an open boat, toiling at the oar, and their bread was damaged with the rain; yet, as we are told, "so good were their stomachs that they could digest it." Captain Smith addressed them in terms of mingled authority and persuasiveness; told them how disgraceful it would be for them to return, while they had such abundance of provision, and before they had accomplished any thing of importance; and assured them of his readiness to share every danger and labor, and to take the worst upon himself whenever there was any choice. Their reluctance to proceed any further was much increased by adverse weather, and, three or four of them falling sick, their piteous entreaties induced Captain Smith to return.



On the 16th of June, they fell in with the mouth of the Potomac. The sight of this majestic river revived their drooping spirits, and their invalids having recovered, they readily consented to explore it. For thirty miles, they found no inhabitants, but were afterwards conducted by two of the natives up a little creek, where they found themselves surrounded by three or four thousand Indians, lying in ambuscade, "so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, shouting, yelling, and crying, as so many spirits from hell could not have showed more terrible." Their demeanor was very menacing; but Smith prepared to receive them with great coolness, and commanding the muskets to be discharged, the grazing of the bullets upon the water, and the report, which the woods multiplied into a thousand echoes, filled them with alarm. They threw down their arms, and made professions of peace, which was ratified by an exchange of hostages. They now treated the English with great kindness, and frankly told them that they had been commanded to lie in wait for them, and cut them off, by Powhatan, who had been informed of the expedition, and incited to take this step, by some discontented spirits at Jamestown, because Captain Smith obliged them to stay in the country against their will. This fact alone will give the reader some notion of the infamy and worthlessness of some of the colonists.

They were conducted by Japazaws, the chief of the Indians in that part, to a mine, of which they had heard a good deal, upon one of the tributary streams of the Potomac. It produced a substance like antimony, which the Indians, after having washed it and put it up in bags, used to paint themselves and their idols with. It made "them look like Blackamores dusted over with silver." Newport had carried some of these bags to England, and reported that the substance they contained was half silver. They reached the mine, and brought back as much of its product as they could carry, which proved in the end to be of no value. No mineral treasures at all were found, but they collected some furs. The Indians, whom they met, generously supplied them with

the flesh of animals. They frequently found the waters alive with innumerable fish, and not having any net, as their bark was sailing among them, they attempted to catch them with a frying-pan, "but," the narrative gravely adds, "we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with."

They explored the Potomac as far as their bark would go, and then returned. Though they frequently were exposed to danger from the open or treacherous assaults of the savages, Captain Smith's resolute conduct always averted it. He invariably met them with great boldness; and, if they were desirous of peace, he would demand their weapons and some of their children, as sureties for their good faith, and by their refusal or compliance he learned in what light to consider them and what measures to take with them.

Desiring before his return to visit the Indians whom he had known in his captivity, he entered the mouth of the river Rappahannoc, where, at low tide, their boat ran aground. While they were waiting for the flood, they occupied themselves in sticking with the points of their swords the fishes, which were left upon the flats in such numbers, that they took in this way more in an hour than they could eat in a day. Captain Smith, in taking from the point of his sword a *stingray*, (which is described in the narrative as "being much in the fashion of a thornback," but with "a long tail like a riding-rod, whereon the midst is a most poisoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side,") was wounded by its sharp thorn, to the depth of an inch and a half, in the wrist. The wound, though it drew no blood, became extremely painful; and in a few hours his arm and shoulder were so much swollen, that his companions concluded his death was at hand, and were so confident of it, that with heavy hearts they dug his grave in an island hard by. But by the timely application of a "precious oil" by Dr. Russell, after the wound had been probed, he recovered from the ill effects of it so quickly, that he was able to take his revenge upon the fish by eating a piece of it for his supper. The place

where this accident occurred, was named in consequence of it Stingray Point, as it is still called.

They returned to Jamestown, on the 21st of July. By way of frolic, they disguised their boat with painted streamers in such a way, that they were mistaken by the colonists for a Spanish frigate, to their no small consternation. Smith found that his absence had been attended with its usual ill consequences. All those who had lately come over were sick; and the whole company were spiritless, discontented, and full of indignation against their selfish and inefficient President, who, instead of actively mingling in the interests of the colonists, and sharing their toils and privations, had been living in abundance upon the public stores, and was building for himself a pleasant retreat in the woods, where his ear might not be pained by murmurs and complaints.

They were somewhat comforted, by the accounts of the expedition, and (what now cannot be read without a smile) by "the good hope we had by the savages' relation, that our bay had stretched into the South Sea or somewhat near it." They would not hear, however, of Ratcliffe's continuing in the office of President, but insisted upon his being deposed, which was accordingly done, and Smith chosen in his place; by which he was invested with the title and badges of a station, the substantial authority of which he had long enjoyed. Being about to depart upon another expedition, he appointed Mr. Scrivener his deputy, who at that time was sick with a fever. This deputy distributed impartially the public stores which Ratcliffe had engrossed, and made such arrangements as would enable the colonists to interrupt their labors during the extreme heat of the summer, and thus recruit their wasted strength.

Captain Smith remained at home but three days, and on the 24th of July set out on another exploring expedition accompanied by twelve men. They were detained two or three days at Kecoughtan (Hampton) by contrary winds, where they were hospitably entertained by the Indians. At night they discharged a few rockets into the air, which greatly alarmed their simple hosts. The

first night of their voyage, they anchored at Stingray Point, and the next day, crossing the Potomac at its mouth, they hastened on to the river Bolus (Patapsco.) They proceeded onwards to the head of the bay, which ended in four streams, all of which they explored as far as their boat would carry them. Two of them they found with inhabitants on their banks, namely the Susquesahannoc (Susquehanna) and Tockwogh, since called Sassafra. In crossing the bay, they met seven or eight canoes full of Massawomecs. These were a great and powerful nation, dwelling far to the north, of whom Captain Smith had heard a great deal among Powhatan's people. They were a great terror to the tribes living on the Chesapeake Bay, with whom they were almost constantly at war.\*

They prepared at first to assault the English, which might have been attended with fatal consequences to the whole company, as they had but six men who could stand upon their feet, the rest being disabled by sickness. By putting upon sticks the hats of the sick and stationing between every two sticks a man with two muskets, they contrived to multiply their apparent strength, so that the Indians paddled swiftly to the shore. They were followed, and with some difficulty persuaded to go on board the barge, where presents were interchanged. By signs they intimated that they were at war with the Indians dwelling on the river Tockwogh; and the fresh and bleeding wounds upon some of them showed that there had been a recent battle.

The next day, on entering the river Tockwogh, they were surrounded with a fleet of canoes filled with armed men. On seeing the weapons of the Massawomecs in the hands of the English, (which they had received as presents, but which, sacrificing truth to policy, they gave

\* The Massawomecs are supposed to have been the great Northern Confederacy, called by the French the Iroquois, and by the English, The Five Nations, and afterwards, The Six Nations; whose seat was in the State of New York, but whose conquests were extended so far, that they have been called the Romans of America.—*Stith*, p. 67; *Encyclopædia Americana*, Art. *Iroquois*.

the Indians to understand had been taken in battle,) they led them in triumph to their village and entertained them hospitably. They saw among this people hatchets, knives, and pieces of iron and brass, which, they said, were obtained from the Susquesahanocs, a mighty nation, who dwelt upon the river of the same name, two days' journey above the falls, and who were mortal enemies of the Massawomecs. Captain Smith prevailed upon them to send an embassy to this people, inviting them to come and see him; which was accordingly done, and, in three or four days sixty of them came down with presents of various kinds.

Captain Smith has spoken of these Susquesahanocs in terms which would lead one to suppose that he borrowed more from imagination than memory in his description, and that his romantic fancy and ardent temperament made him, perhaps unconsciously, exaggerate the sober truth. He speaks of them as a race of giants, "and, for their language, it may well beseem their proportions, sounding from them as a voice in a vault." Their clothing was the skins of bears and wolves, with the paws, the ears, and the head disposed in such a way, as to make it at once more picturesque and terrible. "One had the head of a wolf hanging in a chain for a jewel, his tobacco-pipe, three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deer, or some such device at the great end, sufficient to beat out one's brains; with bows, arrows, and clubs, suitable to their greatness." To those who have since seen this gigantic people, with the unassisted eye of reason, they have dwindled to the common proportions of mankind.

Their tribe was a numerous one, mustering six hundred fighting men. They dwelt in palisadoed towns to defend themselves against the Massawomecs, their deadly foes. In their manners, they were mild and simple, and knew nothing of Powhatan or his people except by name. They informed the English, that their hatchets and other commodities came from the French in Canada. They looked upon the English as beings of an order superior to men, and for Captain Smith their veneration

was unbounded. An incident is related by the narrator of the progress of this expedition, which shows at once the piety of Captain Smith, and that natural instinct of religion which dwells alike in the breast of the heathen and the Christian, the savage and the civilized man. "Our order was daily to have prayer with a psalm, at which solemnities the poor savages much wondered; our prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their business. Then they began in most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the sun, with a most fearful song; then embracing our Captain, they began to adore him in like manner; though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished." They afterwards invested him with the office of a chief, loaded him with presents, and invited him to come and aid them against the Massawomecs.

Leaving these kind and friendly strangers, they returned down the bay, to the Rappahannoc, exploring every inlet and river of any consequence, and giving to the various capes and headlands the names of members of the company or of their friends. At the extreme points to which they explored the several rivers, they cut crosses in the bark of trees, and in some places bored holes in them, wherein they deposited notes, and, in some cases, brazen crosses, to signify that the English had been there.

In passing up the river Rappahannoc, they were kindly entertained by a tribe of Indians called the Moraughtacunds. They met there an Indian named Mosco, who is styled an "old friend," though we hear of him now for the first time. They had probably seen him on their former expedition. They supposed him to be the son of some Frenchman, because, unlike every other Indian whom they had seen, he had a bushy, black beard. He was not a little proud of this distinction, and called the Englishmen "his country-men." He devoted himself to them with great assiduity and uniform kindness. He advised them not to visit the Rappahannocs, who lived higher up the river, as they would endeavor to kill them

for being the friends of the Moraughtacunds, who had lately stolen three of their chief's women.

Captain Smith, thinking that this was merely an artifice to secure a profitable trade to his own friends, disregarded his counsels; but the event proved that he was right. Under pretence of trade, the English were decoyed by them into a creek, where an ambuscade was prepared for them. A skirmish took place, in which the Rappahannocs had many killed and wounded, but none of the English were hurt. They took three or four canoes, which they presented to Mosco in requital of his kindness.

Before proceeding any further, they employed themselves in surrounding their boat with a sort of bulwark, made of the targets which they had received from the Massawomecs, and which they had found a great protection against the arrows of the Rappahannocs. They were made of small twigs, woven together with strings of wild hemp and silk-grass, so firmly and compactly as to make them perfectly arrow-proof. Their virtue was soon put to the test; for on the next day they received a volley, while they were in a narrow part of the river, from thirty or forty Rappahannocs, who "had so accommodated themselves with branches," that they were mistaken for bushes growing along the shore. Their arrows however, striking against the targets, fell harmless into the river.

They were kindly treated by the rest of the nations as far as the falls. While they were upon the river, they lost one of their number, Mr. Richard Fetherstone, by death. He had borne an unexceptionable character from the first, behaving himself "honestly, valiantly, and industriously." His remains were buried, with appropriate honors, on the shore of a small bay, which they called by his name. The other members of the expedition, who had almost all of them been more or less sick, had now recovered their health.

Having sailed up the Rappahannoc as far as their bark would carry them, they set up crosses and carved their names upon the bark of trees, as usual. While they

were rambling about the falls, they were suddenly attacked by about a hundred Indians, who, in their irregular mode of warfare, kept darting about, from tree to tree, continually discharging arrows, but with no effect. In about half an hour, they retreated as suddenly as they approached. As the English returned from pursuing them they found one of their number lying upon the ground, having been wounded in the knee with a bullet. Mosco, who had behaved with great courage in the skirmish, showed, at the sight of him, the unrelenting cruelty of his race; for, says the narrative, with more force than elegance, "never was dog more furious against a bear, than Mosco was to have beat out his brains." But he was rescued from this violence; and, his wounds having been dressed by the surgeon, he was in an hour so far recovered as to be able to eat and speak. By the aid of Mosco, they learned from him that he was the brother of the chief of the tribe of Hassininga, one of the four which made up the nation of the Mannahocs. When asked why his people attacked the English, who came to them with both the intentions and the appearance of friends, he said, that they had heard that the English were a nation come from under the world to take their world from them. Being further asked how many worlds he knew, he answered, that he knew of none but that which was under the sky that covered him, whose sole inhabitants were, besides his own nation, the Powhatans, the Monacans, and the Massawomecs. To the inquiry, what there was beyond the mountains, he replied, the sun. They made him many presents and persuaded him to accompany them.

At night they set sail and proceeded down the river. They were presently followed by the Mannahocs on the banks, who kept discharging arrows at the boat and yelling and shrieking so loud, as to render it impossible for their countryman in the boat, whose name was Amorolec, to make his voice audible to them. But in the calm of the morning they anchored in a quiet and broad bay, and their captive was able to address his countrymen and inform them, how kindly the English had treated him; that



he had been promised his liberty if they would be friendly ; and that as to injuring the strangers at all with their inferior weapons, it was quite out of the question. Encouraged by these statements, they hung their bows and arrows upon the trees, and two of them, without suspicion, swam to the bark, bringing the one a bow and the other a quiver of arrows, which they presented to Captain Smith in token of submission. He received them very kindly, and told them that if the chiefs of their four tribes would submit to him, the great King, whose subject he was, would be their friend. This was immediately assented to ; and, on going ashore on a low, jutting point of land, the four chiefs came and received their countrymen, Amorolec. They wondered at every thing belonging to the English, and mistook their pistols for pipes. After giving and receiving many presents, the English took their departure, leaving four or five hundred Indians singing, dancing, and making merry.

On their return, they visited their friends the Moraughtacunds, who were desirous that Captain Smith should make peace with the Rappahannocs, as he had done with the Mannahocs. This pacific counsel, so foreign to the Indian character, was probably given, that they themselves might be more secure, as they were generally understood to be the friends and allies of the English. Captain Smith told them that he was ready to make peace, but that, as the Rappahannocs had twice assaulted him without any provocation, and when he came with the most friendly intentions, he should exact certain conditions from them. These were, that they should present him with the bow and arrows of their chief, in token of submission, that they should never come armed into his presence, that they should make peace with the Moraughtacunds and give up their chief's son, to be a hostage and a security for the performance of the stipulated terms.

A message was sent to the chief of the Rappahannocs, who accepted all the conditions except the last, saying that he had but one son and could not live without him, a strong instance of affection, in one of a race,

which has generally been supposed to be peculiarly devoid of the finer sensibilities of the heart. He offered, instead of his son, to give up the three women whom the Moraughtacunds had stolen from him, which proposition was accepted. The women being brought before Captain Smith, he presented each of them with a chain of beads. He then permitted the chief of the Rappahannocs to choose, from the three, the one whom he preferred; to the chief of the Moraughtacunds he gave the next choice; and the remaining woman he gave to Mosco; an arrangement which was satisfactory to all parties. The triple peace was concluded with great rejoicings of men, women, and children, of whom no less than six or seven hundred were assembled. Mosco, to express his love for the English, changed his name to Uttasantough, which means *stranger*, the word by which they were called.

On departing from the Rappahannoc, they explored the Piankatank as far as it was navigable, and steered for home. While they were in the bay, a few miles south of York River, they were surprised in the night with so violent a storm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning, that they gave themselves up for lost, but were enabled finally to reach Point Comfort. As they had discovered so many nations at a distance, they thought it would be hardly consistent for them to return home, without visiting their neighbors, the Chesapeakes and Nansemonds, of whom as yet they had only heard. Therefore they set sail for the southern shore, and went up a narrow river, then called the Chesapeake but since Elizabeth, on which Norfolk stands. They sailed six or seven miles, but seeing no living beings, though they observed signs of habitation, they returned. Having coasted along the shore to the mouth of the Nansemond, they perceived there six or seven Indians mending their weirs for fishing, who fled at the sight of the English. They went on shore and left some toys in the place where the Indians had been working, and returned to their boat. They had not gone far, before the Indians returned, and began to sing and dance and call them back. One of them came into

the boat of his own accord, and invited them to his house, which was a few miles up the river. This invitation they accepted and sailed six or seven miles, the other Indians accompanying them, running on the banks. They saw on the western shore large cornfields, and in the midst of the river an island, upon which was situated the house of the Indian who was with them, and which was also thickly covered with corn. The Indian treated them kindly, and showed them his wife and children, to whom they made suitable presents. The other Indians invited them further up the river to their houses, and accompanied them for some distance in a canoe.

Some suspicious circumstances in their deportment led the English to apprehend that all was not right, and to provide for the worst, especially when they perceived that they were followed by seven or eight canoes full of armed men. They were not long left in suspense, for they were suddenly attacked by two or three hundred men, from each side of the river, who discharged arrows at them as fast as they could draw their bows. Those in the canoes also shot at them; but they returned so galling a fire from their muskets, that most of them leaped overboard and swam to the shore. The English soon fell down the stream, till they reached a position, where the arrows of the Indians could not touch them, but which was within musket-shot of their foes, and a few discharges made them retire behind the trees. The English then seized upon their deserted canoes, and moored them in the stream. Though they had received more than a hundred arrows in their targets, and about the boat, no one was hurt. They determined to punish the treacherous Indians, by burning every thing upon the island at night, and in the mean time began to demolish their canoes. At the sight of this, those on shore threw down their arms and sued for peace; which was granted on condition that they would bring their chief's bow and arrows and a chain of pearl, and four hundred baskets of corn, otherwise their canoes should be destroyed and their houses burnt. These conditions they assented to, and loaded the boat with corn as full as it would hold, with which the English

departed, and arrived at Jamestown without any further adventure, on the 7th of September, 1608.

In these two expeditions, Captain Smith was absent a little over three months, excepting an interval of three days which was spent at Jamestown; and he had sailed, upon his own computation, about three thousand miles. It was an enterprise of great difficulty and considerable hazard, and its complete success is to be ascribed to his remarkable personal qualities. His intercourse with the natives required the exercise of the greatest firmness, address, and self-command; while, in the management of his own company, authority and persuasive influence were to be mingled with the nicest tact. He was obliged to overawe the refractory, to encourage the sick and drooping, to enliven the desponding, and to infuse his own adventurous and enterprising spirit into the indolent and timid. He explored the whole of the Chesapeake Bay, and of the country lying upon its banks, and constructed a map of it, which is very accurate, taking all circumstances into consideration.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Second Arrival of Newport.—Abortive Expedition to explore the Interior.—Injudicious Conduct of the Council in England.—Their Letter to Captain Smith.—His Reply.*

ON their arrival at Jamestown, they found that many had died during their absence and many were still sick; but that some, whom they had left sick, Mr. Scrivener among the rest, were restored to health. This gentleman had performed well the duties of deputy-governor, and had provided for the gathering and storing of the harvest. Ratcliffe, their late President, was a prisoner for mutiny. On the 10th of September, Captain Smith was formally

inducted into the office of President, and entered upon the administration of its duties with his usual spirit and activity. The church and storehouse were repaired, and a new building was erected for the supplies, which were expected from England. The fort was put in order, a watch duly set, and the whole company was drilled in military exercises, every Saturday, on a plain towards the west, where the Indians would often gather round them in great numbers, to witness the execution done by their bullets upon the bark of a tree, which they used as a target.

As it was about the time of the Indian harvest, an expedition set out under the command of Lieutenant Percy to trade with the Indians; but, meeting Captain Newport in the bay, they came back with him. He had brought over about seventy individuals, some of whom were persons of distinction, and two of whom, Captain Peter Wynne and Captain Richard Waldo, were appointed members of the council. In this ship there came the first Englishwomen, that ever were in Virginia, Mrs. Forrest and her maid Anne Burras. The company had also, with singular want of judgment, sent out eight Germans to make pitch, tar, glass, and potash, who would have been welcome to a populous and thriving country, but who were useless encumbrances in an infant colony, which was struggling for existence, and all the energies of which were directed to the procuring of daily bread.

The instructions which Captain Newport had brought out with him, and the authority with which he had been clothed, are a monument of the folly of the council in England, in dictating the measures and course of policy to be pursued in a colony, three thousand miles distant, and of whose interests and condition they showed themselves so thoroughly ignorant. Stith, in his homely fashion, says of Newport himself, that he was "an empty, idle, interested man, very fearful and suspicious in times of danger and difficulty, but a very great and important person in his own talk and conceit." He had a mean jealousy of Captain Smith on account of his brilliant qualities and the estimation in which he was held by the colonists;

and his influence with the council and company in England induced them to give him such peculiar powers as would enable him at once to gratify his own conceit, and, as he thought, to vex and mortify his rival. He obtained from them a special commission, by which he was authorized to act, in certain cases, independently of the council, and in which three objects were laid down as essential. He was not to return without either discovering the South Sea, or bringing back a lump of gold or some one of the lost company, which had been sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh.\*

It is difficult to believe that such preposterous requisitions could have been made by men in their senses; but their madness was deliberate, as its "method" will show. A barge had been constructed and brought over, which was capable of being taken to pieces and put together again, and in which they were to make a voyage to the head of the river. It was then to be carried across the mountains and launched upon the streams, which were supposed to run westerly and flow into the South Sea. As they must pass through Powhatan's territory, it was proper to make extraordinary exertions to secure his favor; and for this purpose a royal present was brought over for him, consisting of a basin and ewer, a bed and furniture, a chair of state, a suit of scarlet clothes, a cloak, and a crown.

Newport soon opened his budget, and unfolded to the council his strange powers and wild schemes. Captain Smith, whose strong good sense and knowledge of the country enabled him to perceive, at a glance, their impolicy and even impracticability, opposed their execution most strenuously. He said, that it was sheer madness to employ the precious time of the colonists, which ought to be fully occupied in providing for the winter, in the visionary scheme of a search for the South Sea, through an unknown country, full of merciless enemies;

\* This refers to a colony of one hundred persons, who had been left on the island of Roanoke in North Carolina, by Captain White, under the guidance and direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1587, and were never afterwards heard of, being probably cut off by the Indians.

and that, worn out with fatigue and sickness as they were, it would be impossible for them to carry the boat over the mountains. As to the sumptuous presents brought over for Powhatan, he was opposed to their being presented, because he said that he could always be sure of his good-will by a piece of copper or a few beads, but that this "stately kind of soliciting" would make him insolent and contemptuous beyond all endurance. These arguments, convincing in themselves and strongly recommended by the character and experience of their supporter, were however overruled in council, principally by means of Newport's sanguine promises and assurances. He was ungenerous enough to insinuate that Smith's opposition to his expedition arose from a wish to monopolize the glory of the discovery himself, and that the only obstacle to its success would be the desire of the Indians to take vengeance upon the English for the cruelties which he had formerly inflicted upon them.

This decision afforded to Captain Smith an opportunity to show the real greatness and magnanimity of his character. Though he was President, no sooner did he find the majority of the council against him, than, without any further opposition or sullen obstinacy, he lent his most vigorous efforts to the prosecution of the plans they had decided upon. To show how unfounded were Newport's charges of cruelty and how little he himself had to fear from the Indians, he volunteered to go with four others and invite Powhatan to Jamestown to receive his presents. He travelled by land twelve miles and crossed York River in a canoe to Werowocomoco, where he expected to find Powhatan. But he was thirty miles distant, and was immediately sent for. Pocahontas and her women did their utmost to entertain their guests.

As they were seated around the fire, they suddenly heard a hideous noise in the woods. The English, supposing that they were betrayed, seized upon two or three old men who sat near, as hostages for their safety. But Pocahontas came running up to them, and assured them, that no harm was intended to them, and that, if

any happened, she would willingly give up the lives of herself and her women to atone for it. Her assurances removed their suspicions, and enabled them to attend to the pageant, which was prepared for their entertainment. Thirty young women sallied from the woods, variously painted, clothed only with a girdle of leaves, and ornamented with sundry devices. The writer of the narrative describes their dance, in the following rather ungallant terms; "These fiends with most hellish shouts and cries, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with most excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernal passions, and solemnly again to sing and dance; having spent near an hour in this mascarado, as they entered, in like manner they departed." This dance was followed by a feast, at which the good Captain was much annoyed by the officious caresses of the above-mentioned masquerading damsels. The Englishmen were then conducted to their lodgings, with firebrands carried before them instead of torches.

The next day, Powhatan arrived, and Captain Smith delivered to him his message, desiring him to come to Jamestown, to receive the presents from the hands of his father, Captain Newport, and concert with him plans for taking revenge upon his enemies the Monacans. The reply of the savage monarch is strikingly characteristic of his haughtiness, self-respect, and knowledge of human nature. "If your king," said he, "have sent me presents, I also am a king and this is my land; eight days I will stay to receive them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, neither will I bite at such a bait; as for the Monacans, I can revenge my own injuries; for any salt water beyond the mountains, the relations you have had from my people are false." At the same time, he drew upon the ground a rude chart of the countries of which he spoke. After some complimentary discourses, Captain Smith took leave of him, and carried his answer to Jamestown.

Whereupon the presents were sent round by water, and Captains Smith and Newport went across by land,



with a guard of fifty armed men. All having met at Werowocomoco, the next day was appointed for Powhatan's coronation. Then his presents were brought to him, and the basin, ewer, bed, and furniture were set up. His scarlet cloak and suit were put on, but not until he had been persuaded by Namontack (the Indian youth whom he had formerly presented to Newport, and who had been to England with him) that there was nothing dangerous in them. They had great trouble in inducing him to kneel in order to receive his crown. He understood nothing of the "majesty or meaning" (as the narrative has it) of a crown, nor of the ceremony of bending the knee; which obliged them to use so many arguments and so much persuasion, that their patience was entirely worn out. They succeeded at last in making him stoop a little by leaning hard upon his shoulders; and, as soon as the crown was put upon his head, a volley was fired from the boats, at which he started up in great affright, till he was informed what it meant. What would this silvan monarch have said, if he had witnessed the cumbrous splendor of a modern coronation?

By way of making a proper acknowledgement of the honors which had been shown to him, he generously presented Captain Newport with his mantle and old shoes. He endeavored to dissuade the English from their wild scheme of exploring the inland country, and refused to give them men or guides for that object, except Namontack. After many civil speeches had been exchanged, he gave Newport a heap of ears of corn containing seven or eight bushels, and about as much more was purchased in the village, with which they returned to Jamestown.

Immediately after this, Captain Newport set out upon his expedition of discovery, with a hundred and twenty chosen men, leaving Captain Smith at Jamestown with eighty or ninety weak and sickly ones, to load the ship. The enterprise proved a total failure, and its history may be told in a very few words. They proceeded in their boat to the falls of James River, and then went by land about forty miles, through a fertile and well-watered country. They discovered two villages of the Monacans on the

south side of the river, the inhabitants of which used them neither well nor ill, but, by way of security, they took one of their petty chiefs and led him bound in order to guide them. A journey of two days and a half sufficed to cool their spirit of adventure, and to weary their delicate limbs so much, that they turned about and resumed their march homeward, taking with them some quantity of a certain earth, from which their refiner pretended to have extracted silver. They arrived at Jamestown "half sick, all complaining, and tired with toil, famine, and discontent;" having gained nothing but experience. Every thing had turned out exactly as Captain Smith had foretold, which, of course, sharpened the sting of disappointment.

Captain Smith, who would allow no man to be idle, immediately set them all at work; some in making glass; others, tar, pitch, and potash. These he left under the care of the council at Jamestown, and he himself took thirty men about five miles down the river, and employed them in cutting timber and making clapboards. Among these were several young gentlemen, who had not been used to felling trees and sleeping on the ground; but, as there was something exciting in the employment, and their President shared all their toils and hardships, they soon became reconciled to their situation, "making it their delight to hear the trees thunder as they fell." But the axe frequently blistered their tender fingers, so that "many times every third blow had a loud oath to drown the echo." To correct this evil habit, the President contrived an ingenious and effectual remedy, which operated without any loss of good humor on the part of the offenders. He had a register kept of the number of oaths every man uttered in the course of the day, and at night, he ordered the same number of cans of water to be poured down his sleeve. The consequence was, that there was hardly an oath to be heard in a week. The writer of the narrative says, that though these thirty gentlemen, who worked with spirit and from choice, would accomplish more than a hundred who must be

driven to it, yet twenty good stout workmen would do more than all.

Captain Smith, on his return to Jamestown, finding that much time had been unprofitably spent, and that their provisions were running low, resolved to go in search of corn among the Indians. He went up the river Chickahominy, in two barges, with eighteen men, leaving orders for Lieutenant Percy to follow him. He found the Indians surly and disobliging, who, though they knew his wants, refused to trade, with many contemptuous expressions. Immediately changing his tone, and appearing no longer in the attitude of a petitioner for food, he told them that his purpose was to avenge his own imprisonment, and the death of his countrymen whom they had slain. He then landed his men and drew them up in military order. This spirited conduct produced a sudden change of opinion in the Indians, who sent ambassadors to make their peace, with presents of corn, fish, and wild fowl. They told him that their harvest had not been abundant that year, and that they had hardly enough to supply their own wants; but they furnished him with two hundred bushels of corn, which was a most welcome gift to the colony.

Captain Smith's enemies seem to have turned his most praiseworthy and successful efforts into accusations; for we read, "that though this much contented the company, (that feared nothing more than starving,) yet some so envied his good success, that they rather desired to hazard a starving, than his pains should prove so much more effectual than theirs." A plot was even formed by Newport and Ratcliffe to depose him, because, being President, he had left his place and the fort without their consent; but "their horns were so much too short to effect it, as they themselves more narrowly escaped a greater mischief."

While the ship remained, a brisk trade was carried on between the sailors and the Indians, to the great gain of the former, but to the prejudice of the colony. They would even pilfer articles from the public stores in order to exchange them for furs and other valuable commodi-

ties. And these very men, after having enriched themselves in this manner, at the expense of the colonists, would grossly misrepresent them to the council in England, and report that they had great abundance of every thing ; so that they took no pains to supply them with stores, and would send over crowds of hungry adventurers to eat up their hard-earned substance. Captain Smith was so provoked with Newport's conduct, that he threatened to send the ship home without him and detain him a year in the colony, that he might have the benefit of a full experience of their sufferings ; but upon his making proper submission, he consented to let him go. He carried with him, in his ship, specimens of pitch, tar, frankincense, potash, clapboards, and wainscot, also a quantity of *pocones*, a red root used in dyeing.

The council in England had not been satisfied with the proceedings of the colony. They had listened to misrepresentations and calumnies from interested or offended individuals, and had taken little pains themselves to ascertain the true state of affairs. They were disappointed in not receiving any gold and silver from Virginia ; and under the influence of these irritated feelings, and probably instigated by Newport, they had written by him an angry letter to Captain Smith. They complained of the vain hopes with which they had been entertained, and the disappointments in which these had ended ; they reproved the colonists for their dissensions, and spoke of a project for dividing the country, about which the former President had written a letter to the Earl of Salisbury ; and threatened them, that, unless the expenses of the present voyage, amounting to two thousand pounds, were defrayed by the ship's return, the colony would be deserted and left to shift for themselves.

To this tirade, Captain Smith sent a reply by Newport, combining the dignity proper to his office with a soldier-like frankness and spirit. He denies indignantly the charge of awakening hopes which have never been realized ; and, as to the plot for dividing the country, he says he never heard nor dreamed of such a thing. He says, that their directions sent by Newport had all been

strictly followed, though he was opposed to them himself, and that all had been taught by experience to confess that he was right. For the two thousand pounds, which the voyage had cost, the colony had not received the benefit of a hundred. He tells them of the great preparations, which Newport had made for his expedition, and its utter failure; and says, "As for the quartered boat to be borne by the soldiers over the falls, if he had burnt her to ashes, one might have carried her in a bag; but, as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the falls." He takes them to task for their folly in sending the Germans to make pitch, tar, and glass; and in his remarks shows great good sense, and even considerable knowledge of political economy. He tells them, that they could buy, in a single week, as great a quantity of these articles as would freight a ship, in Russia or Sweden, countries peculiarly adapted by nature to the manufacture of them; but that it was most impolitic and unprofitable to devote to such occupations any part of the energies of a young colony, in which they all had as much as they could do to provide subsistence and defend themselves against the Indians.

He complains of Newport, of his vain projects, and his indolence, and contrasts the luxury and plenty, in which he and his sailors lived, with the coarse and scanty fare of the colonists. He says, that Archer and Ratcliffe were the authors of all their factions and disturbances; and that the latter is an impostor, whose real name is Sicklemore; and he sends him home to save his throat from being cut by the colonists, by whom he is detested. He entreats them to send out carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, and masons, thirty of whom would be worth more than a thousand idle gentlemen, and to provide for their support and subsistence for the present, and leave all projects of gain for the future. At the same time, he sent them two barrels of stones, which he conjectured to be iron ore, with labels, designating the places in which he found them. To convince them that he could make as ample a discovery as Newport, and at a less expense than he had incurred at every

meal, he transmitted to them a map of Chesapeake Bay and its rivers, which he had explored, together with a description of the same.\*

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## CHAPTER IX.

### *Difficulties in Procuring Provision.—Captain Smith's Unsuccessful Attempt to obtain Possession of Powhatan's Person.*

UPON the departure of the ship, the colonists began to be in apprehension that they should suffer from want of food, their supply being but scanty. In order to obtain corn, Captain Smith, with Captain Wynne and Mr. Scrivener, set out for Nansemond, where, upon his arrival, the Indians not only refused to give him the four hundred bushels which they had promised; but would not trade with him at all; saying that their stock was almost consumed, and that they had been commanded by Powhatan to keep what was left, and not permit the English to enter their river. Captain Smith, finding that persuasion did no good, was constrained to employ force. At the first discharge of the muskets, the Indians fled without shooting an arrow. The English marched towards their houses, and set fire to the first one they

\*This was sent by Captain Nelson, who left Jamestown early in June, 1608, and it contains a narrative of events up to that date. It was printed the same year in London, and does not differ materially from the accounts subsequently published in the *History*. The original pamphlet is rare and curious, being in black letter and of the quarto size. There is a copy of it in the Library of Harvard College, but the title-page is wanting. In Mr. Rich's *Catalogue of American Books*, the title is printed as follows; "True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate, as hath happened in Virginia since the Planting of the Colony." There is also a copy of the same work in Colonel Aspinwall's invaluable collection of books relating to America. It was written in the form of a letter and addressed to an individual; probably to the Secretary of the London Company.

came to. Upon the sight of the flames, the Indians came forward and offered to give them half the corn they had, if they would desist from further violence.

They loaded the three boats, with which the English returned to their place of encampment, four miles down the river. This was an open plain, sheltered by a hill, and at that time the ground was frozen hard and covered with snow. They were accustomed to dig away the snow, and make a large fire ; and, when the ground was thoroughly warmed, they would remove the fire and ashes, spread their mats upon the spot and lie down, using another mat as a screen against the wind. When the ground grew cold, they shifted their fire again. Many cold winter nights they passed in this manner ; and those, who were thus exposed to the elements in these expeditions, were always stouter and healthier than those, who remained at home and slept in warm beds.

Soon after their return to Jamestown, the first marriage which took place in Virginia, was celebrated between John Laydon and Anne Burras.

Captain Smith, indefatigable in securing the settlers against even the apprehension of want, remained but a short time at Jamestown, but, accompanied by Captain Waldo, went up the bay in two barges. The Indians, on all sides, fled at the sight of them, till they discovered the river and people of Appomatox. These had but little corn ; but that little they divided with the English, and received in exchange bits of copper and other trifles, with which they were well contented.

The supplies procured in this manner were, however, temporary and precarious ; and Captain Smith, who was determined that no one should be in fear of starvation, while he was President, resolved upon the bold and questionable measure of surprising Powhatan, and taking possession of all his store. In this project he was seconded by Captain Waldo, but opposed by Captain Wynne and Mr. Scrivener, which latter gentleman had become an enemy to him. As if to favor his purposes, he was requested by Powhatan to come and see him, with a promise, that he would load his ship with corn,

if Smith would build him a house, give him a grindstone, fifty swords, some muskets, a cock and a hen, and a large quantity of beads and copper. Captain Smith determined to improve the opportunity thus fortunately presented, although he suspected that the crafty old savage had some ulterior design in his specious offers. He accordingly sent two Englishmen and four Germans to build him a house, giving them instructions as to their conduct, and unluckily informing them of his plans. He soon after set out himself in the bark and two barges, accompanied by Captain Waldo and forty-six men. As this was an enterprise of great danger, he took with him only those who volunteered to go. He left the government in the hands of Mr. Scrivener.

On the 29th of December, they departed from Jamestown, carrying with them provisions for only three or four days. They lodged that night at Warraskoyac, an Indian village, a few miles from Jamestown, where they made additions to their stores.

The chief of the tribe treated them with great kindness, and endeavored to dissuade Captain Smith from going to see Powhatan; but, finding him resolved, he warned him to be on his guard, for that Powhatan, notwithstanding all his seeming kindness, had sent for them merely for the purpose of cutting their throats. The Captain thanked him for his caution, and requested him to furnish guides to the nation of the Chawonocs, who dwelt between the rivers Nottaway and Meherrin, in North Carolina, to which he readily consented. Mr. Michael Sicklemore, a valiant and honest soldier, was sent upon this enterprise, the object of which was to obtain silk-grass and to inquire after Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony.

The next night, they lodged at Kecoughtan, (Hampton,) where they were detained several days by violent storms. This obliged them to keep their Christmas among the Indians.\* But we are told that they had a

\* The narrative states, that they left Jamestown on the 29th of December, and yet that they afterwards kept Christmas among the savages. Of course, both statements cannot be correct. The matter is fortunately of little consequence, as there are no means of ascertaining which is right.



very merry one, warmed by blazing fires, and their tables amply spread with fish, flesh, oysters, and wild fowl. After various accidents, they arrived on the 12th of January, at Werowocomoco, where they found the river frozen to nearly half a mile from the shore. They broke the ice to make a passage for the barge, till she was grounded by the ebbing of the tide, when they leaped out and waded to the shore through the ice and mud.

They quartered in the first cabins which they found, and sent for provisions to Powhatan, who supplied them with bread, turkeys, and venison. The next day, after having given them an entertainment, he very inhospitably inquired of them when they purposed to go away, saying, that he had never invited them to come, and that neither he nor his people had any corn to spare. Captain Smith then confronted him with the men who had brought his invitation, and quietly asked him how he came to be so forgetful; "thereat the King concluded the matter with a merry laugh," and asked for his commodities. Nothing suited him, however, but guns and swords, and he valued a basket of corn at a higher rate than a basket of copper. Captain Smith, perceiving that the wily savage was trifling with him, said to him with some sternness, that he had confidently relied upon his promises to supply the colony with provisions, and had neglected to procure any from other sources, which he might have done; and, to testify his regard to him, he had sent mechanics to construct buildings for him, while his own were standing unfinished. He charged him with having monopolized his people's corn and forbidden them to trade with the English, in hopes, by starvation, to bring them to his own terms. As to guns and swords, he had none to spare, as he had told him long before; but they would contrive to keep from starving by the aid of those which they had, though they would do him no wrong nor violence, nor break the friendship which existed between them, unless constrained to do so by ill usage.

Powhatan listened attentively to this discourse and promised that both he and his people would supply the

English with as much corn as could be spared, and that they should receive it within two days. "But," he added, "I have some doubts about the reason of your coming here. I am informed by many that you come, not to trade, but to invade my people, and to possess my country. This makes me less ready to relieve you, and frightens my people from bringing in their corn. And therefore to ease them of that fear, leave your arms aboard, since they are needless here, where we are all friends."

Powhatan's doubts were very reasonable, and his wary conduct perfectly justifiable; for Smith's whole plot had been revealed to him by the Germans, who had been sent to build a house for him. These men, seeing Powhatan's wealth and plenty, and the wretched condition of the colony, and supposing that he must finally extirpate them, had, in order to secure his favor, basely betrayed the purposes of the English. Their treachery was the more odious, because one of them had been honored with particular marks of confidence by Captain Smith on account of his intelligence and supposed integrity, and had been sent on this errand to act as a spy upon Powhatan. Captain Smith was entirely unsuspecting of the fact at the time, and did not hear of it till six months afterwards; so it is easy to see what an advantage the savage monarch had over him, which he did not fail to improve to the utmost.

A contest of ingenuity ensued between Captain Smith and Powhatan, reminding us of the efforts of two skilful boxers, to find an opening to plant the first blow. The savage chieftain was very anxious that the English should lay aside their arms, of which he and his people had a most wholesome terror; and he made use of arguments of the following tenor. "Captain Smith," said he "I am a very old man, having seen the death of three of the generations of my people, and know well the difference between peace and war. I must soon die, and my brothers must succeed me. I wish to live quietly with you, and I wish the same for them. But the rumors, which have reached us, disturb us, and alarm my people so that they dare not visit you. What advantage will it be to

you to destroy us, who supply you with food? What can you gain by war, if we escape to the woods and hide our provisions there? Why are you so suspicious of us? You see we are unarmed, and are ready to supply your wants. Do you think I am so simple as not to prefer eating good meat, sleeping quietly with my wives and children, laughing and making merry with you, having copper, hatchets, and every thing else, as your friend, to flying from you, as your enemy, lying cold in the woods, living upon acorns, roots, and such trash, being so hunted by you that we can neither rest, eat, nor sleep in peace, but if a twig break, my men will cry out, 'Here comes Captain Smith.' In this miserable manner, I must come to a miserable end, and you likewise, sooner or later. Be assured of our friendship, then, and we will readily and abundantly supply you with corn. Lay aside your guns and swords, and do not come armed as into an enemy's country."

To these sentimental speeches, Captain Smith replied after the following fashion. "As you will not understand our words, we must make our deeds speak for us. We have scrupulously adhered to the terms of the treaty of peace concluded between us, which your men have constantly violated; and, though we have had ample opportunities for avenging ourselves, we have refrained out of our regard to you. And you know enough of us to know, that, if we had intended you any injury, we could long ago have succeeded in doing it. It is our custom to wear arms in the same manner as clothes, and we can by no means part with them. Your people come frequently to Jamestown with bows and arrows, and are entertained without suspicion or remark. As to your flying into the woods and hiding your provisions out of our reach, you need not think that will trouble us. We have a way of discovering hidden things, unknown to you."

Many other discourses, of the same tenor, passed between them. Powhatan, seeing that his wishes were not received as law by the English, and that they would not lay aside their arms or omit any of their usual pre-

cautions, gave utterance to these sentiments, with a heavy sigh. "Captain Smith, I have never treated any chief with so much kindness as I have you ; but I have never in return received any at your hands. Captain Newport gave me swords, copper, clothes and every thing else I desired, taking, in exchange, whatever I offered him. He would at any time send away his guns at my request. No one refuses to gratify my wishes, but you. You will give me nothing, to which you attach any value ; and yet you insist upon having every thing from me, which you desire. You call Captain Newport father, and so you do me ; but I see, in spite of us both, you will have your own way, and we must study to please you. If your intentions are as friendly as you profess them to be, send away your arms, and I will believe you."

Captain Smith, seeing that Powhatan was merely wasting the time in idle speeches, in order to gain an opportunity to attack them and put them to death, resolved to strike a decisive blow. He gave directions to the Indians to break a passage through the ice, that his boat might come to the shore, and ordered some more of his men to land, to aid him in surprising Powhatan. In order to keep him free from suspicion, till the proper hour came, he entertained him with "much specious and fallacious discourse,\* telling him, that he was his friend and not his subject, and promising the next day to give up his arms, and to show him, that he honored him as a father, by trusting implicitly to his words. The wily chieftain, when he heard that they were breaking a passage through the ice, suspected that all was not right, and suddenly fled with his women, children, and luggage. To avoid suspicion, he left two or three women to talk with Captain Smith, while he secretly made his escape ; and in the mean time his warriors beset the house, in which they were conversing. When this was told to Captain Smith, he boldly sallied out armed with sword, pistol, and target, with which, as we are told, "he made

\* Stith, p. 88.

such a passage among these naked devils, that, at his first shot, they next him tumbled one over another, and the rest quickly fled, some one way, some another." He reached the main body of his men without any injury.

The Indians, seeing that he had escaped unharmed and was guarded by eighteen resolute, well-armed men, endeavored to put a fair construction upon their unequivocal doings; and Powhatan, to excuse his flight and the sudden gathering of his warriors, sent an "ancient orator," who, like more civilized diplomatists, sought to gain a favorable hearing by a present of a great bracelet and a chain of pearls, and addressed Captain Smith, as follows; "Captain Smith, our king is fled, fearing your guns, and knowing that, when the ice was broken, more men would come. He sent the warriors, whom you assaulted, to guard your corn, which might be stolen without your knowledge. Though some have been injured in consequence of your mistake, Powhatan is still your friend, and will ever continue so. Now, since the ice is broken, he would have you send away your corn; and, if you would have his company, your guns also, which so affright his people, that they dare not come to you, as he has promised they should." The corn referred to in the Indian ambassador's speech consisted of a quantity amounting to eighty bushels, which had been purchased of Powhatan for a copper kettle.

The English were immediately oppressed with attentions. Baskets were provided for them to carry the corn to the boat, and the Indians kindly offered their services to guard their arms, that none might steal them. This favor was, with suitable acknowledgments, declined. To show the dread which they had of fire-arms, we are told, that "a great many they were of goodly, well-proportioned fellows, as grim as devils; yet the very sight of cocking our matches and being to let fly, a few words caused them to leave their bows and arrows to our guard, and bear down our corn upon their backs; we needed not importune them to make despatch." The English were under the necessity of waiting for the next tide before

they could depart, and the day was spent in feasting and merry sports.

Powhatan, who had burned to get possession of Smith's head, had prepared his forces to make an attack upon the English at night, which would probably have been fatal to them all, had they not been warned of it by Pocahontas, on this, as on all occasions, the guardian angel of the whites. It is better to relate the incident in the unvarnished language of the original narrative, than to ornament it with any rhetorical embellishments of my own. After mentioning that a plot had been formed by Powhatan, it states that, "Notwithstanding, the eternal, all-seeing God did prevent him, and by a strange means. For Pocahontas, his dearest jewel and daughter, in that dark night, came through the irksome woods, and told our Captain great cheer should be sent us by and by ; but Powhatan, and all the power he could make, would after come kill us all, if they that brought it could not kill us with our own weapons, when we were at supper. Therefore, if we would live, she wished us presently to be gone. Such things as she delighted in he would have given her ; but, with tears running down her cheeks, she said she durst not be seen to have any ; for, if Powhatan should know it, she were but dead ; and so she ran away by herself, as she came." This simple and beautiful picture of disinterested attachment and heroic self-forgetfulness needs not the "foreign aid of ornament" to recommend it to the heart, which has a throb left for generous deeds and noble qualities.

Pocahontas had been gone less than an hour, when there came eight or ten stout fellows, with large platters of venison and other articles of food, who invited them to sit down and eat, and were very importunate for them to put out their matches, the smoke of which, as they said, made them sick. But Captain Smith made them taste of every dish, (probably to ascertain whether it was poisoned or not,) and sent some of them back to Powhatan, bidding him make haste for he was ready to receive him, telling him that he knew upon what deadly errand his first messengers were sent, but that he could guard

against that as well as all his other intended villanies. Messengers came from Powhatan from time to time, to learn the position of things; but the English passed the night in such watchful preparation, that no blow was struck. They departed at high water, and left behind them the Germans, whose good faith was entirely unsuspected, and (what seems a little strange, after these events) one of their own number, Edward Brynton by name, to kill birds for Powhatan.

The conduct of Captain Smith, in attempting to seize the person of Powhatan, cannot be justified, and no one can feel sorry that he did not succeed. The principle of gratitude should alone have prevented him from dealing so treacherously with a man who had spared his life, when he had him in his power. His only excuse is to be found in the strong necessity of the case, of the extent of which, however, we have no means of forming a conception. The opinions of the age, in all that relates to the rights of men and nations, were characterized, not even by a nice sense of honor, much less by a feeling of Christian brotherhood. The manner in which his conspiracy was betrayed to Powhatan, enforces the lesson taught by all the great plots and intrigues of the world, that he who aims at treacherous designs is never sure of his instruments. When a man has once consented to become a spy and act a borrowed part, it is easy for him to go a step further and betray his employer by a double treachery. He, who has once deserted the path of moral rectitude, has never a firm footing, and is continually liable to slide into deeper and more inextricable guilt.

## CHAPTER X.

*Captain Smith's Adventures with Opechancanough, Chief of Pamunkey.—His Return to Jamestown.*

No sooner had the English set sail, than Powhatan sent two of the Germans to Jamestown. These imposed upon Captain Wynne with a plausible story, that every thing was going on well, and that Captain Smith had need of some weapons, ammunition, and clothing, all of which were unsuspectingly delivered to them. While they were there, by their artful speeches and by working upon the hopes of the selfish and the fears of the timid, they prevailed upon six or seven to leave the colony and join them with Powhatan.

These apostates, among their other accomplishments, had a peculiar dexterity in stealing, which they exerted so successfully, that they filched from the colonists a great number of swords, pikeheads, and muskets, with large quantities of powder and shot. There were always Indians prowling around in the neighborhood to carry them off. By these means, and by the labors of one of the Germans, who had remained behind and who seems to have been a blacksmith, the armory of Powhatan was very materially increased.

Captain Smith and his party in the mean while had arrived at Pamunkey, the seat of Opechancanough, the brother of Powhatan, who received them kindly and entertained them many days in his most hospitable style. A day was appointed for traffic, upon which Captain Smith with fifteen others went up to the village where the chief resided, about a quarter of a mile from the river. They found no human being there, except a lame man and a boy, and the houses were abandoned and stripped of every thing. Soon, however, the chief arrived with many warriors, armed with bows and



arrows; but their commodities were so trifling and offered at so exorbitant a price, that Captain Smith remonstrated with him in the following manner; "Opechancanough, you profess, with your words, great love to me, but your actions are inconsistent with your professions. Last year, you kindly freighted our ship, but now you have invited us here that you might see us starve with hunger. You know my wants and I know your plenty, of which I will, by some means, have a share. Remember that it becomes kings to keep their promises. I offer you my goods; you may take your choice, and the rest I will apportion justly among your people." The chieftain accepted his offer seemingly with a good grace, persuaded probably, more by the muskets, than by the intrinsic force of the suggestions themselves. He sold them what they wanted, at their own prices, promising the next day to meet them with more people and more commodities.

On the next day, Captain Smith and his party marched up to his house, where they found four or five Indians newly arrived, each furnished with a great basket. The chief himself soon after arrived, and with a "strained cheerfulness" magnified the pains he had been at in keeping his promise. While they were discoursing, Mr. Russell, one of the party, came suddenly in, and with a face of alarm told Captain Smith that they were all lost, for seven hundred armed men had environed the house and were swarming round about in the fields.

Captain Smith, seeing dismay painted in the countenances of his followers at these tidings, addressed to them a few words of encouragement. He told them that he felt far less concern at the number of the enemy than for the malicious misrepresentations, which the council would make in England, of his readiness to break the peace and expose their lives; that they had nothing to fear, for that he alone had been once assaulted by three hundred, and but for an accident, would have made good his way through them; that they were sixteen in number, and the Indians not more than seven hundred, and that the very smoke of their pieces would be enough to disperse them.

At any rate, he exhorted them to fight like men, and not tamely die like sheep; and if they would resolutely follow his example, he doubted not that he should be able, with the blessing of God, to extricate them from their present perilous situation.

They all resolutely promised to second him in whatever he attempted, though it should cost them their lives. Whereupon he addressed Opechancanough to the following effect; "I see that you have entered into a plot to murder me, but I have no fears as to the result. Let us decide the matter by single combat. The island in the river is a fit place, and you may have any weapons you please. Let your men bring each a basket of corn and I will stake their value in copper, and the conqueror shall have all and be ruler over all our men."

This proposal was declined by the chief, who had no chivalrous notions of honor, and could not conceive of any one's voluntarily giving up any advantage, which he could gain by treachery or other means over an enemy. He artfully endeavored to quiet Smith's suspicions, and invited him outside of the door to receive a present, where he had stationed two hundred men with their arrows on the string, ready to shoot at him the moment he appeared. Captain Smith, who had discovered, or at least strongly suspected his perfidious purpose, no longer restrained his indignation, but seizing him by his long lock of hair, and clapping his pistol to his breast, led him out trembling into the midst of his people. They were petrified with horror, that any one should dare to lay violent hands on the sacred person of their chief, and were amazingly frightened besides. He readily gave up his vambrace,\* bow, and arrows in token of submission, and his subjects followed his example.

Captain Smith, still retaining his grasp upon him, addressed his subjects as follows; "I perceive, ye Pamunkeys, the desire you have to kill me, and that my long suffering has brought you to this pitch of insolence. The reason I have forborne to punish you is the promise

\* Vambrace, armor for the arm. *Avant-bras*, Fr.—*Bailey*.

which I formerly made to you, that I would be your friend till you gave me just cause to be your enemy. If I keep this vow, my God will keep me and you cannot hurt me; but if I break it, he will destroy me. But if you now shoot one arrow to shed a drop of blood, or steal any of these beads, or of this copper, I will take such a revenge, as that you shall not hear the last of me while there is a Pamunkey alive who will not deny the name. I am not now half-drowned in the mire of a swamp, as I was when you took me prisoner. If I be the mark you aim at, shoot, if you dare. You promised to load my vessel with corn, and if you do not, I will load her with your carcasses. But, if you will trade with me like friends, I once more promise that I will not trouble you, unless you provoke me, and your chief shall be my friend, and go free; for I did not come to hurt him or any of you."

This speech had an effect like magic. The savages threw down their bows and arrows, and thronged round Captain Smith with their commodities, in such numbers, for the space of two or three hours, that he became absolutely weary of receiving them. He accordingly retired, and, overcome with his toils and excitements, fell asleep. The Indians, seeing him in this condition, and his guard rather carelessly dispersed, went into the house in great numbers armed with clubs or English swords, and with intentions by no means friendly. The noise they made aroused him from his slumbers, which we may suppose were not very deep; and, though surprised and confused at seeing so many grim forms around him, he seized his sword and target, and, being seconded by some of his countrymen, drove out the intruders more rapidly than they came in. Opechanca-nough made a long speech to excuse the rude conduct of his subjects. The rest of the day was spent in kindness and good-will, the Indians renewing their presents and feasting the English with their best provisions.

Captain Smith here received the news of a most melancholy accident which took place at Jamestown during his absence. Mr. Scrivener had received some

letters from England, which gave him extravagant notions of his own importance, and made him feel very coldly towards Captain Smith, who still regarded him with the affection of a brother. He took it into his head to visit an island in the vicinity of Jamestown, called Hog Island, on a very cold and stormy day, when it seemed little short of madness to tempt the angry elements. Notwithstanding the most earnest remonstrances he persisted in going, and persuaded Captain Waldo with nine others to accompany him. The skiff would have hardly floated with so large a freight, in calm weather; but, as it was, she sunk immediately, and all who were in her were drowned. Their dead bodies were found by the Indians, which encouraged them in their projected enterprises against the colony.

No one, for some time, would undertake to inform Captain Smith of this heavy news, till finally Mr. Richard Wiffin volunteered. His journey was full of dangers and difficulties. He at first went to Werowocomoco, where he found that all were engaged in warlike preparations, which boded no good to his countrymen. He seems to have narrowly escaped with his life here; for we are told, that "Pocahontas hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the clean contrary way to seek him." He finally reached Captain Smith after travelling three days, and communicated his sad message to him; who charged him to keep it a secret from his followers, and, dissembling his grief as much as he could, at night-fall he went on board the boat, leaving Opechancanough at liberty and unmolested according to his promise.

Captain Smith cherished a hope, that he might be able, on his return, to entrap Powhatan, an intention which he had never abandoned. Powhatan, on his part, had commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to kill Captain Smith by some means or other. The consequence was, that on their second meeting, as at their first, both parties were on their guard; and, though many stratagems were practised on both sides, nothing decisive took place. Such a terror was Captain Smith to the Indians, that not even the commands of Powhatan could induce them

to attack him in battle, notwithstanding their immense superiority in numbers; and they were ready to propitiate him by loads of provision, if they had any reason to suspect hostile intentions on his part towards them. We are told, however, that they attempted to take his life by poison, a mode more characteristic of civilized malice, than of savage hatred. The particulars are not related; it is said that Captain Smith, Mr. West, and others were taken sick, and thus threw off from the stomach some poisonous substance which would have been fatal, had it been left to its natural operation. It was probably not prepared with great skill by these untutored chemists. No other notice was taken of the outrage, except that the Indian who brought the poisoned articles was soundly beaten by Captain Smith's own hand, which, we have every reason to believe, was a very heavy one. He finally returned to Jamestown after an enterprise full of perils and difficulty, bringing with him two hundred pounds of deer suet, and four hundred and seventy-nine bushels of corn.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Troubles with the Indians.—Scarcity of Provisions.—Mutinous and Treacherous Disposition of some of the Colonists.—Arrival of Captain Argall.*

CAPTAIN SMITH, on his arrival, found as usual that nothing had been done during his absence. Their provisions had been much injured by the rain, and many of their tools and weapons had been stolen by or secretly conveyed to the Indians. The stock of food which remained, increased by that which had been procured from the Indians, was, however, found on computation to be sufficient to last them a year; and consequently their apprehensions of starving were for the present laid

aside. They were divided into companies of ten or fifteen, as occasion required, and six hours of each day were spent in labor and the rest in amusement and exhilarating exercises.

The majority of them, unaccustomed to discipline or regular employment, showed symptoms of stubborn resistance to his authority, which provoked him to reprove them in sharp terms. He told them, that their recent sufferings ought to have worked a change in their conduct, and that they must not think that either his labors or the purses of the adventurers would for ever maintain them in idleness. He did not mean that his reproaches should apply to all, for many deserved more honor and reward than they could ever receive; but the majority of them must be more industrious or starve. That it was not reasonable that the labors of thirty or forty honest and industrious men should be devoted to the support of a hundred and fifty idle loiterers, and that, therefore, whoever would not work must not eat. That they had often been screened in their disobedience to his commands by the authority of the council; but that now the power, in effect, rested wholly in him. That they were mistaken in their opinion, that his authority was but a shadow, and that he could not touch the lives of any without peril of his own. That the letters patent would show them the contrary, which he would have read to them every week, and that they might be assured that every one who deserved punishment, should receive it.

He also made a register, in which he recorded their merits and demerits, "to encourage the good, and with shame to spur on the rest to amendment;" a simple device, one would think, for those who had long left school, but which, owing probably to the President's great personal influence, proved of considerable efficacy. They missed from time to time powder, shot, arms, and tools, without knowing what had become of them, but found afterwards that they were secretly conveyed to the Germans, who were with Powhatan, by their countrymen and confederates at Jamestown. Four or five of these latter, according to a previous agreement, had deserted

from Jamestown, a short time before, to join the former; but, meeting in the woods some of Captain Smith's party on their return, to avoid suspicion they came back. Their countrymen sent one of their number, disguised as an Indian, to learn the reason of their delay. He came as far as the glass-house, which was about a mile from Jamestown, and was the scene of all their plots and machinations, and their common place of rendezvous.

At the same time and near the same place, forty Indians were lying in ambush for Captain Smith. He was immediately informed of the German's arrival, (how or by whom we are not told,) and, taking twenty men, marched to the glass-house to apprehend him; but he had gone away before they came. He despatched his followers to intercept him, and returned alone to Jamestown, armed only with a sword, not suspecting any danger. In the woods he met the chief of the Pashipays, a neighboring tribe of Indians, a tall and strong man, who at first attempted by artful persuasion to bring Captain Smith within reach of the ambuscade. Failing, however, in this, he attempted to shoot him with his bow, which Smith prevented by suddenly grappling with him. Neither was able to make use of his weapons, but the Indian drew his adversary by main strength into the river, in the hope of drowning him. There they struggled for a long time, till Captain Smith seized his antagonist's throat with such a grasp as nearly strangled him. This momentary advantage enabled him to draw his sword, at which his foe no longer resisted, but begged his life with piteous entreaties. Captain Smith led him prisoner to Jamestown and put him in chains.

The German meanwhile had been taken; and, though he attempted to account for his conduct, his treachery was suspected and finally confirmed by the confession of the captive chief, who was kept in custody, and offered to Powhatan in exchange for the faithless Germans whom he had with him. Many messengers were sent, but the Germans would not come of their own accord, neither would Powhatan force them. While these negotiations were going on, the chief himself

escaped through the negligence of his guards, though he was in irons. An attempt was made to retake him, but without effect. Captain Smith made prisoners of two Indians, by name Kemps and Tussore, who are described as being "the two most exact villains in all the country." He himself went with an expedition to punish the tribe of Pashiphays for their past injuries and deter them from any future ones, in which he slew several of them, burned their houses, took their canoes and fishing-weirs, and fixed some of the latter at Jamestown.

As he was proceeding to Chickahominy, he was assaulted by some of their tribe; but, as soon as they saw who he was, they threw down their arms and sued for peace, a young man, named Okaning, thus addressing him; "Captain Smith, the chief, my master, is here among us, and he attacked you, mistaking you for Captain Wynne, who has pursued us in war. If he has offended you in escaping imprisonment, remember that fishes swim, the birds fly, and the very beasts strive to escape the snare and the line; blame not him, therefore, who is a man. He would ask you to recollect what pains he took, when you were a prisoner, to save your life. If he has injured you since, you have taken ample vengeance and greatly to our cost. We know that your purpose is to destroy us; but we are here to desire your friendship, and to ask you to permit us to enjoy our houses and plant our fields. You shall share in their fruit; but if you drive us off, you will be the greatest losers by our absence. For we can plant anywhere, though it may cost us more labor; but we know you cannot live, unless you have our harvests to supply your wants. If you will promise us peace, we will trust you; if not, we will abandon the country."

This "worthy discourse," as it is justly called by the writer of the narrative, had its desired effect. Captain Smith made peace with them, on condition that they would supply him with provisions. This good understanding continued so long as Captain Smith remained in the country.

When Smith returned to Jamestown, complaint was



made to him, that the people of Chickahominy, who had always seemed honest and friendly, had been guilty of frequent thefts. A pistol, among other things, had been recently stolen and the thief escaped; but his two brothers, who were known to be his confederates, were apprehended. According to the President's usual summary mode of proceeding in such cases, one of these was sent home with a message, that if the pistol were not forthcoming in twelve hours, the other (who meanwhile was imprisoned) should be hung. The messenger came back before midnight with the pistol, but a sad spectacle awaited him. Captain Smith, pitying the poor naked Indian who was shivering in his dark, cold dungeon, had sent him some food and charcoal to make a fire with. The simple savage, knowing nothing of the mysteries of carbonic acid gas,\* soon fainted away under its deleterious influence, and was brought out to all appearance dead. His brother, seeing his confident hopes so cruelly disappointed, broke out into the most passionate lamentations, and Captain Smith, to pacify him, told him that he would restore him to life. By the application of brandy and vinegar, he was restored to consciousness; but his faculties remained in such a state of confusion and disorder, as alarmed his brother hardly less than his seeming death. But a night's sound sleep restored him to his senses, and they were both presented with a piece of copper and sent home. From this circumstance, a report was spread far and wide among the Indians, that Captain Smith was able to restore the dead to life.

Another incident took place about this time, which increased the awe in which the English were held. An "ingenuous savage" at Werowocomoco had by some means obtained possession of a bag of gunpowder and of the backpiece of a suit of armor. Wishing to display his superior accomplishments to his countrymen, he proceeded to dry the powder over the fire, upon the armor, as he had seen the soldiers do at Jamestown. Many thronged around him and peeped over his shoulders, to

\* The English writer was not much wiser; he says the Indian was smothered with the smoke.

watch the process, when suddenly the powder exploded, killed the unfortunate operator and one or two others, and wounded several more, which gave the whole nation a great distaste to gunpowder. "These and many other such petty accidents," as we are told, so amazed and alarmed Powhatan and his whole people, that they desired peace from all parts, bringing in presents and restoring stolen articles, which had long been given up in despair. After this, if any Indian was detected in stealing he was apprehended and sent to Jamestown to be punished, and the whole country became as free and safe to the English as to the Indians themselves.

The English, thus unmolested from without, were enabled to devote their undivided energies to the internal affairs of the colony. They set themselves to labor with industry and success. In the space of three months, they had made a considerable quantity of tar, pitch, and potash; produced a sample of glass; dug a well of sweet water in the fort, an article which they had not had in abundance before; built twenty new houses; new covered the church; provided nets and weirs for fishing; and built a block-house on the isthmus of Jamestown, in which a garrison was stationed to trade with the Indians, and which no one was allowed to pass without an order from the President. Thirty or forty acres of ground were also dug and planted. A block-house was likewise erected on Hog Island, and a garrison stationed there to give notice of any vessels that might arrive. At leisure times, they exercised themselves in cutting down trees and making clapboards and wainscoting. About this time Captain Wynne died, so that Captain Smith was left with the whole and absolute power, being both President and council.

Their prosperous and contented industry received a sudden interruption. On examining their store of corn, they found that half of it had rotted, and the rest was nearly all consumed by the rats, which had been left by the ship, and increased in great numbers. This put a stop to all their enterprises and obliged them to turn their whole attention to the procuring of food.

The Indians were very friendly to them, bringing in deer and wild fowl in abundance, and Powhatan spared them nearly half his stock of corn. The river also supplied them with sturgeon and oysters ; so there was no danger of their starving to death. But then food could not be procured without considerable toil and trouble; and many of them were so intolerably lazy, that, as the narrative says, "had they not been forced *nolens volens* perforce to gather and prepare their victual, they would all have starved or have eaten one another." These men were very clamorous that he should sell their tools and iron, their swords and muskets, and even their houses and ordnance, to the Indians for corn, so that they might enjoy the luxury of idleness.

They endeavored also by all means in their power to induce him to leave the country. Necessity obliged Captain Smith to overlook for a time their mutinous and disorderly proceedings; but, having detected and severely punished the principal ringleader, he addressed the remainder in the following terms. "Fellow-soldiers, I did not think that any one was so false as to report, or that you were so simple as to believe, either that I intended to starve you, or that Powhatan had, at this time, any corn for himself, much less for you, or that I would not procure corn, if I knew where it was to be had. Neither did I think that any were so malicious, as I find many are; but I will not so yield to indignation as to prevent me from doing what I can for the good of my most inveterate enemy. But dream no longer of any further assistance from Powhatan, and do not imagine that I shall not compel the indolent to work, as well as punish the refractory. If I find any one attempting to escape to Newfoundland in the pinnace, let him be assured that the gallows shall be his portion. You cannot deny that I have often saved your lives at the risk of my own, and provided you food when otherwise you might have starved. But I protest, by the God that made me, that since necessity has no power to compel you to gather for yourselves the fruits which the earth yields, I will oblige you to gather them, not only for your-

selves, but also for the sick. You know that I have fared like the meanest of you, and that my extra allowance I have always distributed among the sick. The sick shall not starve, but shall fare like the rest of us; therefore, whoever does not gather as much every day as I do, the next day he shall be put over the river and be banished from the fort, until he either alters his conduct or starves."

These orders were murmured against as being extremely cruel and tyrannical; but no one dared to disobey them. All exerted themselves diligently to procure food, so that they not only did not suffer from want, but grew strong and healthy. Many were billeted among the Indians, a fact which shows how much confidence there was on one side, and how much respect, or at least fear, on the other. These last were so well treated by their kind entertainers, that many deserted from Jamestown and took up their abode with them; but the Indians, who knew that they had acted contrary to Captain Smith's orders, received them with great coldness, and finally brought them back to him. He inflicted on them such exemplary punishment, that no one ventured to follow their example. The good conduct of the Indians at this crisis extorts from the writer of the narrative the remark, that there was more hope to make good Christians and good subjects of them, than of one half of those who pretended to be both.

At this period, Mr. Sicklemore returned from his expedition, but without gaining any satisfactory account of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost company or of the silk-grass. Captain Smith, who thought it proper not to abandon a point so strongly urged by the council in England, sent upon the same errand two of his company to the Mangoags; a tribe of Indians, not subject to Powhatan, who dwelt somewhere on the borders of North Carolina and Virginia. They were furnished with guides by the chief of the Quiyoughnohancs, a small tribe dwelling on the southern banks of the James River, about ten miles from Jamestown. "This honest, proper, promise-keeping king," as he is styled, was ever

friendly to the English; and, though he zealously worshipped his own false gods, he was ready to acknowledge that their God exceeded his, as much as guns did bows and arrows. He would often send presents to the President, in a time of drought, begging him to pray to his God for rain, lest his corn should spoil, because his own gods were angry with him. The result of this expedition was, like that of the former one, entirely unsuccessful.

The Germans, who were with Powhatan, gave them constant trouble. One Volday, a Swiss, was employed to solicit them to return to the colony; but, instead of that, he basely and treacherously entered into a conspiracy with them to cut off the English, and diligently exerted himself to bring it to a successful issue. Seeing that these were obliged to wander about in search of provisions and leave the fort but feebly defended, they endeavored to prevail upon Powhatan to lend them his forces, promising to burn the town, to seize the bark, and make the greater part of the colonists his subjects and slaves.

This plot was communicated to some of the malcontents at Jamestown; and two of them, "whose Christian hearts relented at such an unchristian act," revealed it to the President. When it became generally known in the colony, the sentiment of indignation was so lively, that several volunteered to go and slay the Germans, though in the very presence of Powhatan. Two were accordingly sent on this errand; but, on their arrival, the Germans made such plausible excuses, and accused Volday so warmly, that they were unaccountably suffered to go unpunished. Powhatan seems to have observed a strict neutrality in this business. He sent a message to Captain Smith, informing him that he would neither attempt to detain the Germans, nor to hinder his men from executing his commands. One of these Germans, we are told, afterwards returned to his duty, on promise of full pardon for the past; the other remained with Powhatan.

The writer of this portion of the History of Virginia, after relating these incidents, and stating that their great security against the treacherous machinations of these

foreigners, and their unprincipled coadjutors at Jamestown, was the love and respect in which Captain Smith was held by all the neighboring Indians, goes on to remark upon his merits in a strain of honest admiration; "By this you may see, for all those crosses, treacheries, and dissensions, how he wrestled and overcame (without bloodshed) all that happened; also what good was done; how few died; what food the country naturally affordeth; what small cause there is men should starve or be murdered by the savages, that have discretion to manage them with courage and industry. The two first years, though by his adventures he had often brought the savages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authority ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endeavors. But it wrought in him that experience and estimation amongst the savages, as otherwise it had been impossible he had ever effected that he did. Notwithstanding the many miserable, yet generous and worthy adventures he had oft and long endured in the wide world, yet in this case he was again to learn his lecture by experience; which with much ado having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when he had but only learned how to begin."

In the spring of the year 1609, Captain Samuel Argall, afterwards a governor of the colony, arrived at Jamestown. He came to trade with the colony and to fish for sturgeon, in a ship supplied with wine and provisions. This, says Stith, was a prohibited trade, but it was connived at, because Argall was a relation of Sir Thomas Smith. The necessity of the colony obliged them to take his provisions, by which the object of his voyage was defeated; but as soon as they received supplies from England, they revictualled him home, with letters giving a full account of the state of their affairs. By him Captain Smith received letters, blaming him for his cruel usage of the Indians, and for not sending back the former ships freighted. By him they also heard of the great preparations in England for sending out an expedition, under the command of Lord Delaware, and of the entire change projected in the government of the colony.

## CHAPTER XII.

*New Charter granted to the Virginia Company.—Expedition despatched to Jamestown.—Confusion which ensues on its Arrival.—Captain Smith returns to England.*

THE administration of Captain Smith, and the general course of events from the first, at Jamestown, had been far from satisfactory to the company in England. They had founded the colony solely from selfish motives, in the hope of acquiring great and sudden fortunes by the opening of a passage to the South Sea, or by the discovery of abundant mines of gold and silver. The splendid success of the Spaniards, in South America, had filled the imaginations of all Europe with golden dreams; and the company were disappointed and irritated, because there had not been found in Virginia the mineral treasures of Peru and Mexico. They chose to visit their displeasure upon the innocent head of Captain Smith, as if he had either been the cause of their extravagant hopes, or had, by some potent magic, banished the precious metals from the soil of Virginia.

Their prejudice against him was increased, undoubtedly, by their extreme ignorance of every thing relating to the history and situation of the colony, which disqualified them from judging of the propriety of his measures. Their minds too had been poisoned by the misrepresentations of Newport, who possessed their entire confidence, and who hated Captain Smith with that untiring and dogged hatred, with which an inferior being contemplates an enemy, who is too much above him to allow the most distant hope of rivalry. They were dissatisfied, among other things, with his treatment of the Indians, thinking it too harsh and peremptory, and that a milder and more conciliatory one would have induced them to discover

the hidden treasures, which they were persuaded existed somewhere in the country.

Captain Smith, as the reader must have observed, considered himself bound from the first, to provide for the protection and support of the colony, rather than the pecuniary interests of the council at home. He endeavored to give it a permanent footing in the country, an object about which they cared very little, as is shown by their shameful neglect in supplying it with provisions, as well as by the character of the adventurers whom they sent out.

He perceived at once the futility of any expectations of raising a revenue from Virginia, and dwelt upon it in all his communications to England. He saw that a handful of Englishmen were surrounded by numerous and formidable tribes of Indians, and that there could never be any security to life or property, unless they were promptly overawed by firm and spirited conduct. With great propriety he considered himself far better able to judge of the measures which ought to be adopted for the colony, than a company of gentlemen, three thousand miles distant, who derived their information from imperfect or interested sources. His administration, as we have seen, was vigorous and decided, aiming rather to benefit the colony, than to please the council at home. He was too independent and proud a man to stoop to conciliate those whose favor was not to be won by a steady adherence to duty. He had not a drop of the courtier's blood in his whole body. His intercourse with his superiors in station was marked with dignity and self-respect. His letter to the council, which he sent by Newport, and of which we have given an account, is certainly unmarked by delicate official deference, and little calculated to win or regain favor. All these things had combined to render him and his administration unpopular; and he, whose services to the colony had been incalculable, was made the victim of their capricious displeasure, and dismissed from an office which he had filled so honorably, so successfully, and with such constant self-sacrifice.



The Virginia company, having induced many persons of rank and wealth to join with them, in order to increase at once their dignity and their funds, applied to King James for a new charter, which was granted, and which bears date, May 23d, 1609. It gave the most ample powers to the council in England and showed the most wanton disregard of the rights and privileges of the colonists who had emigrated on the faith of the first charter, and who had toiled, suffered, and accomplished so much. By virtue of these powers, the new council appointed Lord Delaware, a nobleman of high rank and distinguished character, captain-general of the colony; Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, admiral; Captain Newport, (the only one who had ever been in Virginia,) vice-admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, high marshal; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, master of the horse. The countenance of so many honorable and distinguished persons made the enterprise fashionable and popular, so that they were able to equip nine ships, in which five hundred persons, consisting of men, women, and children, embarked.

The expedition set sail from England, in May, 1609, under the command of Sir George Somers, Sir Thomas Gates, and Captain Newport, each of whom had a commission authorizing him, who first arrived, to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony by the terms and provisions of the new charter, until the arrival of Lord Delaware, with the remainder of the recruits and supplies. By a most extraordinary oversight, no precedence in rank was assigned to either of these gentlemen, and they were unable to settle the point among themselves, neither being willing to resign his chance of being the temporary head.

To obviate this difficulty, they adopted a most injudicious and unfortunate expedient; they all determined to embark in the same vessel, their weak and childish ambition inducing them to take a step which defeated the very object of this triumvirate division of authority. In their ship were contained also the bills of lading, the new commission, instructions and directions of the most ample nature, and the greater part of their provisions.

This vessel, on the 25th of July, parted from the rest of the squadron in a violent storm, and was wrecked on one of the Bermuda Islands ; another small vessel foundered at sea ; the seven others arrived safely at Jamestown. The President, who was informed of their arrival by his scouts, and who had no expectation of so large a fleet, supposed them to be Spaniards, coming to attack the colony, and with his usual promptness put it in a posture of defence. The Indians at this crisis gave the strongest proof of their good-will, by coming forward with the greatest alacrity, and offering to fight side by side with the English against their enemies.

These unfounded apprehensions were soon dissipated, but only to be replaced by substantial evils. With the seven ships came three individuals, of whom the reader has before heard, Ratcliffe, (whose real name, as has been stated, was Sicklemore,) Archer, and Martin, all of whom were enemies to Captain Smith, and had so prejudiced the minds of their companions against him, that they were prepared to dislike without ever having seen him. Their ships had been greatly shattered in their stormy passage, their provisions were running low, many of them were sick, and they arrived at the season of the year most trying to the constitution. The greater part of the company, moreover, consisted of persons "much fitter," as Stith says, "to spoil or ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one." They consisted of dissipated young men, exiled by their friends to escape a worse destiny at home ; bankrupt tradesmen ; needy adventurers ; gentlemen, lazy, poor, and proud ; profligate hangers-on of great men, and the like.

A scene of wild confusion took place, immediately upon their landing. They had brought no commission with them which could supersede the old one, and no one could, with legal propriety, supplant Captain Smith. The new comers, however, disdained to submit to his authority, prejudiced as they were against him, and looking with contempt upon the little band of colonists, whom they were sent to cast into the shade.

He, at first, allowed them to have every thing in their

own way, and in consequence there was an entire end of all government, discipline, and subordination. The new comers, though having neither the authority nor the capacity, undertook to remodel the government. They conferred the chief power first on one and then on another; to-day they administered the government according to the old commission; to-morrow, according to the new; and the next day, after a new fashion of their own. There was no consistency, no responsibility, and in fact no government; but instead of it a wild anarchy and misrule, to which nothing but chaos could furnish a parallel.

The sensible and judicious part of the community, both of the new comers and of the old settlers, perceived that this state of things, if long continued, would bring the colony to utter ruin, and, justly appreciating the distinguished merit of Captain Smith, entreated him to resume his abandoned authority, and save them from destruction, before it was too late. He was himself so disgusted with the new comers and their proceedings, that, had he consulted his own wishes alone, he would have abandoned the country and gone to England. But there was no alloy of selfishness in his nature. He felt for the colony, of which he was the soul and life-blood, the pride and affection which a parent feels for a favorite child. To its prosperity he was ever ready to sacrifice his private feelings, and he saw plainly, that the present system would end in its ruin.

He felt emboldened too by the conviction of the fact, that he was and had been its legal head, and that no one had any official authority for superseding him. He did not hesitate, therefore, to resume the station, which he had for a short time tacitly resigned, though in doing so he exposed himself to infinite vexations and no little actual danger from the secret and open opposition of his enemies. The most obstinate and refractory of them he cast into prison for safe keeping, until there was leisure for a fair and legal trial. It was thought expedient to divide their numbers, and accordingly Captain Martin was sent with a hundred and twenty men to Nansemond,

and Captain West with the like number to the falls of James River, each receiving a due proportion of provisions from the common stock.

Before these settlements were planted, Captain Smith, having established a regular government, and being near the end of the year of his presidency, resigned it in favor of Martin, who was the only person that could be chosen to the office. He had the good sense to perceive, that he was not qualified for so arduous a station, and, restoring it to Captain Smith in less than three hours, proceeded with his company to Nansemond. His experiment proved a total failure. The Indians were kindly disposed towards him, till his injudicious conduct converted them into determined enemies. They made a successful attack upon him, killing many of his men, and carrying off a thousand bushels of his corn. He made a feeble resistance, and did not attempt to recover what he had lost, but sent to Jamestown for thirty soldiers to aid him. These were promptly despatched, but he made no use of them; and they soon returned of their own accord, disgusted with his cowardice and imbecility. Martin himself shortly followed them, leaving his company to take care of themselves.

Disasters also followed the settlement at the falls. It was originally made in a place exposed to the inundations of the river and to other great inconveniences; and Captain West returned to Jamestown to obtain advice and assistance in the removal of it. Captain Smith immediately purchased of Powhatan the place called by his name, which was a short distance lower down the river, and went up to the falls himself, to superintend their establishment in their new abode. But the mutinous and disorderly company, seeing him attended with only five men, refused to obey his orders, and, on his attempting to use force, resisted him and obliged him to take refuge on board his vessel, having narrowly escaped with his life.

He remained here nine days, in the hope that they would listen to reason and consult their own interest in putting themselves under his guidance. But they obsti-

nately refused, to the last. The Indians, meanwhile, flocked around him with bitter complaints of the treatment they had received from the settlers, saying, that they had robbed their gardens, stolen their corn, beaten them, broken into their houses, and carried off some of their people and detained them prisoners. They offered to assist him in bringing them to subjection by the strong arm of power, and told him, that they had borne these insults and injuries from his countrymen out of respect to him ; but that he must forgive them if hereafter they defended themselves to the utmost of their ability, and repelled unprovoked aggressions by force.

Finding his efforts to be unavailing, Captain Smith departed; but his vessel grounded, after she had proceeded about half a league, a very fortunate circumstance, as the result showed. For no sooner was his back turned, than some Indians, not more than twelve in number it is stated, burning for revenge, assaulted the settlers, and, killing several stragglers whom they found in the woods, struck such a panic into the rest, that they sent down in great alarm to Captain Smith, offering to accede to any terms that he would propose, if he would come and assist them. He returned, and, after punishing six or seven of the chief offenders, removed the rest to Powhatan, a place every way adapted to their purposes, as it had been brought under cultivation by the Indians, who had also erected a strong fort there.

As soon as they were settled in their new habitation, Captain West returned and began to undo all that had been done. Captain Smith, unwilling to contend with him, opposed him in nothing, but left him to manage every thing in his own way. By his influence they were induced to return to their former situation, for what reason it is not stated.

Captain Smith met with a most unhappy accident as he was returning to Jamestown. While he was sleeping in the boat, a bag of powder lying near him exploded, and tore and burnt his flesh in the most shocking manner. His clothes being on fire, he leaped overboard to quench the flames, and was with difficulty rescued from drown-

ing. In this sad condition, he arrived at Jamestown, where things were in such a state as to require all his faculties of mind and body. The time set for the trial of Ratcliffe, Archer, and the others who had been imprisoned, drew near, and their guilty consciences made them shrink from an inquiry, about the result of which they could entertain no doubt. Seeing too the helpless state of the President, they entered into a plot to murder him in his bed; but the heart of the base wretch, who was chosen to be the instrument of their wickedness, failed him at the last moment, and he had not the courage to fire his murderous pistol. Having failed in this, they endeavored to usurp the government and thereby escape punishment. Fevered and tormented by his wounds, Captain Smith became weary of this perpetual struggle against the violence and malice of his enemies, and of supporting his rightful authority by force and severity; and he now determined to return to England, though his old friends, indignant at the treatment he had received, offered and indeed entreated to be allowed to bring him the heads of his foes. But he would not permit the colony to be embroiled in a civil war on his account. His wounds also grew very dangerous, from the want of surgical aid; and he believed that he could never recover unless he went home, as soon as possible, to be cured there. He therefore, in the early part of the autumn of 1609, departed from Virginia, never to return to it again. He left behind him four hundred and ninety colonists, one hundred of whom were trained and expert soldiers, three ships, seven boats, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, three hundred muskets and other arms, abundance of ammunition and tools, wearing apparel sufficient for all their wants, and an ample stock of domestic animals and provisions.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Remarks on Captain Smith's Administration in Virginia.*

CAPTAIN SMITH resided a little more than two years in Virginia; during one of which he was President of the colony. The reader, who has gone thus far with me, will be enabled to form a conception of what he accomplished, and the disadvantages against which he contended. It is difficult for those who have been reared on the lap of civilization, and had wants created by the facilities of gratifying them, to have a full sense of the labors and sufferings of the first settlers of a new country. Familiar with the luxuries of artificial life, they are thrown into a situation where animal existence can hardly be supported. Severe and unremitted toil wears down the frame and depresses the mind. Famine often lays siege to them, and new and strange diseases prostrate their strength. A vague sense of apprehension ever darkens their lot, and not a leaf stirs, but makes them start with the expectation of encountering some great and unknown danger.

The bright hopes, with which they began their enterprise, are apt to languish and die; and their hearts faint under the influence of that homesickness, for which there is no medicine but a draught of air of one's native land. To be the successful leader of a band of new settlers under the most favorable circumstances, requires an extraordinary combination of powers. He must be able to use his hands as well as his head, to act as well as to command, to show how things are to be done as well as to give directions to do them. He must be able to awe the refractory, to encourage the distrustful, and to cheer up the drooping. He must have courage, fortitude, self-command, and perseverance; he must be just, yet not stern, dignified, yet affable and easy of approach.

The Virginia colony, and its head in particular, had trials and perils of a peculiar nature to encounter, in addition to those which they might naturally have expected. In the first place, they were surrounded by numerous and powerful tribes of Indians, whose occupation was war, and who were organized into a powerful confederacy under a ruler of extraordinary resources, the idol of his people, full of courage and enterprise, rivaling in dissimulation the most accomplished European diplomatist; and, if not the implacable enemy of the whites, he has been represented as being still very far from their friend, and, with a prophetic spirit, apparently realizing from the first, that their permanent residence and increase would involve the ruin of his own people.

As we have seen, too, Captain Smith had much to contend against in the characters of many of the settlers themselves, whom the old world seems to have shaken off, as being too worthless and desperate to be any longer tolerated at home. They were continually irritating him by their surly opposition, and infecting the well-disposed by their ill example; for labors and hardships are much lightened when they are shared by all. Instead of receiving aid from the council at home, they were to him a source of unmixed vexation and disappointment.

Chagrined by the failure of their visionary hopes, with a truly consistent selfishness, they abandoned, to unwarrantable neglect, the settlers, whom they had sent into a howling wilderness, taking no pains to provide for their wants, and, by their absurd exactions, making the expeditions they sent out to them a tax and a burden. Captain Smith they honored with peculiar dislike, because he preferred the interests of the colony to their own; believing all that his enemies could say of him, giving him reproof where honor was due, and finally depriving him of his command, at the very moment, when, by his extraordinary exertions, he had established the colony upon a firm basis, and could look confidently forward to its steady increase and continued prosperity.

It is hardly possible for Captain Smith's services to the colony to be exaggerated. Nothing but the force



of his character could have conducted it through so many difficulties and dangers. Upon his single life its existence hung, and without him the enterprise would have been relinquished again and again, as in the case of the settlements on the coast of North Carolina, and the establishment of a permanent colony in America would have been delayed to an indefinite period, since every unsuccessful attempt would have been a fresh discouragement to such an undertaking. It is easy to be seen that he embraced the interests of the colony with the whole force of his fervid and enthusiastic character. He was its right eye and its right arm. In its service he displayed a perseverance, which no obstacles could dishearten, a courage, which bordered upon rashness, and a fertility of resources, which never left him at a loss for remedies against every disaster, and for the means of extricating himself from every difficulty and embarrassment.

It is curious to observe that he seemed not only to superintend, but to do every thing. His official dignity never encumbered him when any thing was to be done. We find him, at one time, cutting down trees with his own hands; at another, heading an exploring expedition, venturing, with a few timid followers, in an open bark, into unknown regions densely peopled with savage tribes; and at another, marching with a few soldiers to procure provisions, and sleeping on the bare ground in the depth of winter. He had the advantage of possessing an iron frame and a constitution which was proof against sickness and exposure; so that, while others were faint, drooping, and weary, he was vigorous, unexhausted, ready to grapple with danger, and contemplating every enterprise with cheerful confidence in the result.

In the government of his colony he was rigidly impartial, just, and, as might be expected from one who had so long been a soldier, strict, even to severity. This was indeed one of the objections made to his administration by the council in England, and it without doubt created him many enemies in Jamestown. But the intelligent reader will find for him a sufficient apology in

the desperate character of many of the settlers, and in the absolute necessity of implicit subordination, which their situation required.

The whole power was centred in his own person, and a refusal to obey him was a refusal to obey the laws, upon which their safety and even existence depended. His severity arose from a sense of duty, and no one ever accused him of being wantonly cruel or revengeful. No man was more ready to forgive offences, aimed at himself personally ; a striking proof of which is, that we hear of no punishments being inflicted on the dastardly wretches who attempted to assassinate him, as he was lying helpless from his wounds, during the last days of his administration.

His conduct to the Indians, though not always dictated by a spirit of Christian justice or brotherhood, will be found very honorable to him, if tried by the standard of the opinions of his day. Here, too, his apology must be found in the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. He was not the head of a powerful body, meeting and trading with the Indians on terms of equality, but of a feeble band, whom they, if they had known their own strength, might have crushed in a moment. The passion of fear is the parent of cruelty and of treachery. It was necessary (or at least it was deemed so) to overawe the Indians, to strike terror into them; and, if the means resorted to for accomplishing these ends were not strictly justifiable, there was at least an excuse for them.

The English were also more than once threatened with famine, while their Indian neighbors were generally well supplied with provisions ; and reason and experience tell us that starving men will not be very nice in their expedients to obtain food, or coolly examine into the right and wrong of measures, when a fierce animal instinct is goading them on. Captain Smith, by his prudence and firmness, established a most harmonious feeling between the two races.

The respect of the Indians for him hardly stopped short of idolatry. His great qualities were evident to

these untutored children of nature, and their reverence was the instinctive homage which is paid to innate superiority. This is alone sufficient to prove that he never treated the Indians, even as they thought, with injustice, cruelty, or caprice; had it been so, he never would have been so admired and honored by a race of men who are proverbial for never forgetting an injury.

The genuine merits of Captain Smith, as a presiding officer, can only be fairly estimated, by comparing him with others. We have seen that whenever he departs from Jamestown, every thing is thrown into confusion, and that, as soon as he returns, order is restored and the jarring notes of discord cease to be heard. As none but himself could bend the bow of Ulysses, so no one was capable of sustaining the office of President, for a single day, but Captain Smith. We have seen in what difficulties and embarrassments Captain Martin at Nansemond and Captain West at the falls, severally involved themselves; and from this specimen we may draw "ominous conjecture" of what would have been the fate of the whole colony, had either of these gentlemen been at its head.

Compare also the results of his brilliant expedition to explore the Chesapeake with Newport's pompous march into the country of the Monacans, in which his failure was as wretched as his means of success were ample. The miserable adventures of the colony, too, after he, its ruling and moving spirit, had departed, are in themselves a splendid encomium upon his energetic and successful administration.

The reader may have some curiosity to know what became of the Germans, whose treachery and misconduct we have so often been obliged to record. One of them, by name Samuel, never returned to the English from the time he first left them, but spent his days in Powhatan's service. Another, named Adam, returned, upon promise of pardon, at the time of Volday's conspiracy. During the troubles in the colony after the arrival of the last expedition, he, with another of his countrymen, named Francis, taking advantage of the general confusion,

fled again to Powhatan, promising that they would do wonders for him at the arrival of Lord Delaware. But the savage monarch, with that sagacity and elevation of character which were peculiar to him, told them that the men, who were ready to betray Captain Smith to him, would certainly betray him to Lord Delaware, if they could gain any thing thereby, and immediately ordered their brains to be beaten out.

As to Volday, himself, he contrived to go to England, where he imposed upon many merchants with stories of the rich mines he had discovered, and of how much he could enrich them, so that he was sent out with Lord Delaware; but, his real character being discovered, and his falsehoods detected, he died in misery and disgrace.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### *Captain Smith's First Voyage to New England.*

FROM the time of Captain Smith's departure from Virginia, till the year 1614, there is a chasm in his biography. So active a mind as his could not have been idle during that time, but, unfortunately, no records are preserved of what he attempted or accomplished. We have every reason to suppose that his favorite subject of settling the American continent occupied a large portion of his time and thoughts. His distinguished reputation, and his great knowledge and experience upon that head, would naturally point him out as the most proper person in England to be consulted by those who had any projects of the kind in contemplation, and as the best qualified to take a part in them himself.

In 1614, probably by his advice and at his suggestion, an expedition was fitted out by some London merchants, in the expense of which he also shared, for the purposes of trade and discovery in New England, or, as it was

then called, North Virginia. An attempt had been made to establish a colony on the coast of Maine, by the Plymouth company, as early as 1607, and forty-five individuals passed the winter there. As the winter of 1607-8 was remarkably severe, all over the world, we can easily imagine their sufferings; and shall not be surprised to learn, that they abandoned the enterprise, and returned to England in the first vessel which was sent out to them. They gave a most unfavorable account of the country, describing it as cold, barren, and rocky in the extreme. Disheartened, it would seem, by these representations, the company for some years confined their efforts to one or two voyages, the objects of which were, to catch fish and traffic with the Indians, till, as we have stated, they associated with themselves the enterprising genius of Captain Smith.

In March, 1614, he set sail from London with two ships, one commanded by himself, and the other by Captain Thomas Hunt. They arrived, April 30th, at the island of Manhegin on the coast of Maine, where they built seven boats. The purposes, for which they were sent, were to capture whales and to search for mines of gold or copper, which were said to be there, and, if these failed, to make up a cargo of fish and furs.

Of mines they found no indications, and they found whale-fishing a "costly conclusion;" for, although they saw many, and chased them too, they succeeded in taking none. They thus lost the best part of the fishing season; but, after giving up their gigantic game, they diligently employed the months of July and August in taking and curing cod-fish, an humble, but more certain prey. While the crew were thus employed, Captain Smith, with eight men, in a small boat, surveyed and examined the whole coast, from Penobscot to Cape Cod, trafficking with the Indians for furs, and twice fighting with them, and taking such observations of the prominent points, as enabled him to construct a map of the country. He then sailed for England, where he arrived in August, within six months after his departure.

He left Captain Hunt behind him, with orders to dis-

pose of his cargo of fish in Spain. Unfortunately, Hunt was a sordid and unprincipled miscreant, who resolved to make his countrymen odious to the Indians, and thus prevent the establishment of a permanent colony, which would diminish the large gains he and a few others derived by monopolizing a lucrative traffic. For this purpose, having decoyed twenty-four of the natives on board his ship, he carried them off and sold them as slaves in the port of Malaga.

History, fruitful as it is in narratives of injustice, oppression, and crimes, has recorded few acts so infamous as this. He was indignantly dismissed from his office by his employers, when they heard of his guilt; but this could not undo the mischief which had been done, nor prevent its evil consequences. The outrage sunk deep into the hearts of the Indians, and, with the indiscriminating vengeance of savage natures, they visited their wrongs in after-times upon innocent heads, because they belonged to that hated race with whom their early associations were so tragical.

Captain Smith, upon his return, presented his map of the country between Penobscot and Cape Cod to Prince Charles, (afterwards Charles the First,) with a request that he would substitute others, instead of the "barbarous names" which had been given to particular places. Smith himself gave to the country the name of New England, as he expressly states, and not Prince Charles, as is commonly supposed. With his request, Prince Charles graciously complied, and made many alterations in the nomenclature, which were generally marked by good taste. The name which Smith had given to Cape Ann, was Cape Tragabigzanda, in honor of his Turkish mistress, whom I hope my readers have not forgotten. Those, who have occasion to pronounce the name frequently, will congratulate themselves on the change. Cape Cod, the name given by Gosnold, was altered by the Prince to Cape James, in honor of his father; but posterity has pertinaciously adhered to the old, homely title, in spite of the double claims of the new one, as being the name of a king and bestowed by a prince. With his charac-

teristic modesty, Smith had given his own name only to a small cluster of islands, which the Prince did not alter; but, by some strange caprice, they are now called the Isles of Shoals, a change which has neither justice nor taste to recommend it.

The first port, into which Captain Smith put, on his return to England, was Plymouth. There he related his adventures to some of his friends, "who," he says, "as I supposed, were interested in the dead patent of this unregarded country." The Plymouth company of adventurers to North Virginia, by flattering hopes and large promises induced him to engage his services to them. Upon his arrival in London, overtures were made to him by his old employers the South Virginia company, who had probably, by experience of others, learned to form a more just estimate of his merits and abilities; but these, on account of his previous engagement, he was constrained to decline. His refusal seems to have given some offence to those whose good opinion he valued; for he takes pains to state, that it proceeded from no disinclination to them or their cause, but he considered himself in honor bound to the Plymouth company.

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## CHAPTER XV.

*Captain Smith sails a Second Time for New England.*

*—Is taken by a French Squadron and carried to France.—Makes his Escape.—Arrives in England.*

*—Publishes his Description of New England.*

WHEN Captain Smith left Plymouth for London, it was with the understanding that he should return to the former place at Christmas and take charge of an expedition of four ships, which the company were to furnish him. The London company made him an offer of the same nature, which, as we have stated, he was obliged to

decline. He endeavored to induce the two companies to fit out an expedition in common, for which there were many inducements.

The Londoners had the most capital, but the men of Plymouth were better acquainted with the art of taking and curing fish, and could more easily fit out vessels for that object; so that it was desirable that funds should be raised in London in behalf of an expedition which should sail from Plymouth. Besides, as Captain Smith says, "it is near as much trouble, but much more danger, to sail from London to Plymouth, than from Plymouth to New England, so that half the voyage would be thus saved." This project, though recommended by reason and expediency, could never be realized on account of the absurd jealousy which the two companies entertained towards each other, and the unwillingness of either to give precedence to the other.

Early in January, 1615, Captain Smith, with two hundred pounds in his pocket, and attended by six of his friends, left London for Plymouth, expecting to find the four ships waiting for him. But his sanguine expectations were destined to be disappointed. The ill success of the expedition, which sailed the June previous from the Isle of Wight, under the command of Harley and Holson, occasioned by the flame of excitement which the outrage of Hunt had kindled in the Indians, had chilled the zeal of the Plymouth company.\* But by the indefatigable exertions of Captain Smith, and the liberal assistance of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, and others, two ships were prepared and equipped, one of two hundred tons, and the other of fifty, in which, besides seamen, there were sixteen men destined to remain as settlers.

They set sail, in March; but, after they had gone about a hundred and twenty leagues, they encountered a violent storm, which separated the two vessels, dismasted

\* See Prince's *Chronological History of New England*, p. 133, ed. 1826. Belknap's *Life of Gorges*, in his *American Biography*, Vol. I. p. 358.



Captain Smith's, and obliged him to return under a jury-mast to Plymouth. His consort, commanded by Thomas Dermer, meanwhile proceeded on her voyage, and returned with a profitable cargo, in August; but the object of the enterprise, which was to effect a permanent settlement, was frustrated.

Captain Smith's vessel was probably found to be so much shattered as to render it inexpedient to repair her; for we find that he set sail a second time from Plymouth, on the 24th of June, in a small bark of sixty tons, manned by thirty men, and carrying with him the same sixteen settlers, he had taken before. But an evil destiny seemed to hang over this enterprise, and to make the voyage a succession of disasters and disappointments. Soon after his departure, he was chased by an English pirate, to whom his crew importuned him to surrender without resistance; which however he disdained to do, though he had only four guns and the pirate thirty-six. The apprehensions of all parties were soon agreeably and singularly dispersed; for Captain Smith, on speaking with her, found that her commander and some of his crew had been fellow-soldiers with him, (probably in his Turkish campaigns,) and had recently run away with the ship from Tunis.

They were in want of provisions and in a mutinous state, and offered to Captain Smith, either to put themselves under his command, or to carry him wherever he desired; but these offers were declined. Near Fayal, he met with two French pirates, one of two hundred tons and the other of thirty. His crew were again panic-stricken, and would have surrendered without firing a gun; but Captain Smith, whose impetuous valor made him disregard the greatest odds against him, told them that he would rather blow up the ship, than yield while he had any powder left. After a running fight he contrived to make his escape.

Near Flores, he was chased and overtaken by four French men-of-war, who had orders from their sovereign to make war upon the Spaniards and Portuguese and to seize pirates of all nations. At the command of the

admiral, Captain Smith went on board his ship, and showed him his commission under the great seal to prove that he was no pirate. The Frenchman, (as it was his interest to prevent any settlement of English in New England, who might compete with his own countrymen at Acadia, in their profitable trade with the natives,) in open defiance of the laws of nations, detained him prisoner, plundered his vessel, manned her with Frenchmen, and dispersed her crew among the several ships of the fleet. But, after a few days, they gave them back their vessel and the greater part of their provisions, and Captain Smith made preparations for continuing his voyage, though a great many of the crew were desirous of going back to Plymouth.

But before they parted from the French fleet, the admiral on some pretence sent for Captain Smith to come on board his ship, which he did, accordingly, alone. While he was there, the French ship, seeing a strange sail, gave chase, detaining him on board; and during the next night the disaffected part of his own crew entered into a plot to turn their ship's head homeward, which they accordingly did, the sixteen landsmen, who were going out as settlers, knowing nothing of it, till they found themselves safe at Plymouth again. The abduction of Captain Smith by the Frenchman, was undoubtedly intentional, being caused, as Smith himself says, by the calumnies of some of his own crew, who were anxious to be rid of him and return home.

Captain Smith soon found that those who captured him were no better than pirates. The admiral's ship was separated from the rest of the fleet by a storm, and followed her fortunes alone. Her cruise was very eventful and lucrative. Captain Smith had the misfortune to see more than one English ship plundered, without any means of preventing it. Whenever they fell in with one of these, they confined him in the cabin; but whenever they had engagements with Spanish ships, they insisted upon his fighting with them. Having spent the summer in this way, they carried him to Rochelle, where, notwithstanding their promises to remunerate him for all his losses by

giving him a share of their prizes, they detained him a prisoner on board a vessel in the harbor.

They accused him of having burnt the French settlements at Port Royal in 1613, (which was the act of Captain Argall,)\* and endeavored to compel him to give them a discharge in full for all demands before the Judge of the Admiralty, threatening him with imprisonment in case he refused. While he was deliberating upon this proposal, Providence held out to him the means of making his escape, without any violence to his sense of justice, or any degradation to his pride. A violent storm arose, whose "pitiless pelting" drove all the people below; and, as soon as it was dark, Captain Smith pushed off from the ship in a boat, with a half-pike for an oar, hoping to reach the shore. But he fell upon a strong current which carried him out to sea, where he was exposed to great danger, in a small, crazy boat, when the storm was so violent as to strew the coast with wrecks. Twelve hours he passed in this fearful state, expecting every moment to be swallowed up by the waves; till by the returning tide he was thrown upon a marshy island, where he was found by some fowlers, nearly drowned and totally exhausted with cold, fatigue, and hunger. By pawning his boat, he found the means of conveyance to Rochelle, where he learned that the ship which had captured him, with one of her prizes, had been driven ashore, and the captain and one half the crew drowned.

On landing at Rochelle, he lodged a complaint with the Judge of the Admiralty, and supported his claims by the evidence of some of the sailors, who had escaped from the wreck of the French ship. We are not informed what was the final result of this process; but he received from the hands of the Judge a certificate of the truth of his statement, which he presented to the English ambassador at Bordeaux. Both at this place and Rochelle he found much sympathy, and received many friendly offices; among others, he says, "the good lady

\* See Holmes's *American Annals*, for the year 1613.

Madam Chanoyes bountifully assisted me." He returned to England, we are not told at what time, but probably in the latter part of the year 1615, and, proceeding to Plymouth, took measures to punish the ringleaders of the mutiny among his crew.

While he had been detained on board the French pirate, in order, as he says, "to keep my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate," he employed himself in writing a narrative of his two voyages to New England, and an account of the country. This was published in a quarto form, in June, 1616. It contained his map of the country, and the depositions of some of the men, who were on board his ship, when he was detained and carried off by the French, inserted, as he says, "lest my own relations of those hard events might by some constructors be made doubtful, envy still seeking to scandalize my endeavors, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues." As a proof of his indefatigable zeal in the promotion of his favorite object, he spent the whole summer in journeying about in the West of England, distributing copies of this book (seven thousand in number, according to his own account) among all persons of any note, and endeavoring to awaken an interest in the subject of settling America. But, he says, "all availed no more than to hew rocks with oyster-shells," so desponding were the minds of men on account of the ill success which had attended so many enterprises of that nature. He reaped, however, an abundant harvest of promises, and the Plymouth company, in token of their respect for his services, formally conferred upon him the title of *Admiral of New England*.

Captain Smith's work on New England was the first to recommend that country as a place of settlement, and to disabuse the public mind of the erroneous impressions which had arisen from the dismal accounts of the settlers, who had returned after the failure of Popham's expedition, and who had represented the whole country as a cold, rocky, and barren waste. It is evidently written in the spirit of an advocate, and not of a judge, and is

tinged throughout with the sanguine temperament of its author. Still it is never visionary or wild; it is full of good sense, accurate observation, and a sagacity that sometimes almost assumes the shape of prophecy. No one can read it without admiration of this extraordinary man, in whom the powers of action, reflection, and observation, were so harmoniously blended.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

*Visit of Pocahontas to England.—Captain Smith's Interview with her.—Death of Pocahontas.*

THE order of events in the life of Captain Smith again associates him with Pocahontas. After his departure from Virginia, she continued to be the firm friend of the settlers, as before. In 1610, when Ratcliffe and thirty men were cut off by Powhatan, a boy named Henry Spilman was saved by her means, and lived many years among the Potomacs. We next hear of her in 1612, when Captain Argall, who had gone on a trading voyage to the country of the Potomacs, learnt from Japazaws, their chief, that she was living in seclusion near him, having forsaken her father's dominions and protection.

We are not informed of the reasons which induced her to take this step. It has been conjectured that her well-known affection for the English had given displeasure to her father, or that her sensibility was pained at witnessing the bloody wars which he waged against them, without her having the power of alleviating their horrors. When Captain Argall heard of this, he perceived how advantageous to the settlers it would be to obtain possession of her person, and that so valuable a prize would enable them to dictate their own terms to Powhatan. He prevailed upon Japazaws to lend him his assistance in this

project, by that most irresistible bribe in an Indian's eyes, a copper kettle; assuring him at the same time that she should not be harmed, and that they would detain her only till they had concluded a peace with her father. The next thing was to induce her to go on board Argall's ship, and the artifice by which this was brought about, is curious and characteristic of the Indian race.

Japazaws ordered his wife to affect, in the presence of Pocahontas, a great desire to visit the English ship; which she accordingly did, and acted her part so well, that when he refused to gratify her and threatened to beat her for her importunity, she cried from apparent vexation and disappointment. Wearied at last by her excessive entreaties, he told her that he would go with her if Pocahontas would consent to accompany them, to which proposal she with unsuspecting good-nature signified her assent. They were received on board by the captain and hospitably entertained in the cabin, "Japazaws treading oft on the captain's foot, to remember he had done his part." When Pocahontas was informed that she was a prisoner, and must go to Jamestown and be detained till a peace could be concluded with her father, she wept bitterly, and the old hypocrite Japazaws and his wife set up a most dismal cry, as if this were the first intimation they had ever had of the plot. Pocahontas, however, soon recovered her composure, either from the sweet equanimity of her character, or because she felt that her reception and treatment by the English could not be any thing but kind and friendly. The old couple were sent home, happy in the possession of their kettle and various toys.

As soon as Pocahontas arrived at Jamestown, a messenger was despatched to Powhatan informing him of the fact, and that she would be restored him only on condition that he should give up all his English captives, swords, muskets, and the like. This was sad news to Powhatan; but the demands of the English were so exorbitant, that he returned no answer to their proposals for the space of three months. He then liberated and sent home seven of his captives, each carrying a rusty,

worn-out musket, with a message, that if they would give up his daughter, he would make satisfaction for all the injuries he had done, present them with five hundred bushels of corn, and ever be their friend. It was not thought expedient to trust to his promises ; and an answer was accordingly returned to him, that his daughter should be well treated, but that they should not restore her till he sent back all the arms which he had ever, by any means, obtained from them. This displeased Powhatan so much, that they heard no more from him for a long time.

In the beginning of the year 1613, Sir Thomas Dale, taking Pocahontas with him, marched with a hundred and fifty men to Werowocomoco, intending to compel Powhatan to ransom his daughter on the proposed terms. The chief himself did not appear ; but his people received the English with scornful bravadoes, telling them, that if they came to fight, they were welcome, and should be treated as Captain Ratcliffe and his party had been. These were not words to "turn away wrath," and the boats were immediately manned, and a party landed, who burned and laid waste every thing they could find, not without resistance on the part of the Indians. After this, much time was spent in fruitless negotiation, and in mutual reproaches and defiance. Two brothers of Pocahontas came to see her, and were very happy to find her well and contented. Two messengers, Mr. John Rolfe and Mr. Sparks, were also despatched from the English to Powhatan. They did not see the chief himself, but were kindly treated by Opechancanough, who promised them to use his influence with his brother to induce him to comply with their wishes. The English returned to Jamestown to attend to their agricultural labors without bringing matters to any definite result.

The troubles between Powhatan and the English were soon to be healed by the intervention of a certain blind god, who, if tales be true, has had a large share in the management of the greatest concerns of the world. A mutual attachment had long existed between Pocahontas and Mr. John Rolfe, who is said to have been an

"honest gentleman and of good behavior." He had confided his hopes and fears to Sir Thomas Dale, who gave him warm encouragement; and Pocahontas had also "told her love" to one of her brothers. Powhatan was duly informed of this, and his consent requested for their marriage, which he immediately and cheerfully gave, and sent his brother and two of his sons to be present at the ceremony and to act as his deputies.

The marriage took place in the beginning of April, 1613, and was a most auspicious event to the English. It laid the foundation of a peace with Powhatan, which lasted as long as his life, and secured the friendly alliance of the Chickahominies, a brave and powerful race, who consented to call themselves subjects of King James, to assist the colonists in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn.

In the spring of 1616, Pocahontas and her husband accompanied Sir Thomas Dale to England. She had learned to speak English during her residence in Jamestown, had been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, and "was become very formal and civil after the English manner." They arrived in England on the 12th of June, 1616, where her name and merits had preceded her, and secured her the attentions and hospitalities of many persons of rank and influence. As soon as Captain Smith heard of her arrival, he addressed the following letter to Queen Anne, the wife of James the First.

*"To the most high and virtuous Princess, Queen Anne of Great Britain.*

"Most admired Queen,

"The love I bear my God, my king, and country, hath so oft emboldened me in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honesty doth constrain me to presume thus far beyond myself, to present your majesty this short discourse. If ingratitude be a deadly poison to all honest virtues, I must be guilty of that crime, if I should omit any means to be thankful. So it is, that some ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the



power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantaquas, the most manliest, comliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a savage, and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate, pitiful heart, of desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her; I being the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw; and thus intrallred in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats.

“After some six weeks fattening amongst those savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine; and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Jamestown, where I found about eight and thirty miserable, poor, and sick creatures, to keep possession of all those large territories of Virginia; such was the weakness of this poor commonwealth, as, had the savages not fed us, we directly had starved.

“And this relief, most gracious queen, was commonly brought us by this lady, Pocahontas. Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us; and by her our jars have been oft appeased, and our wants still supplied. Were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not. But of this I am sure; when her father, with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and with watered eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his fury; which had he known, he had surely slain her. Jamestown, with her wild train, she as freely frequented, as her father's habitation; and, during the time of two or three years, she next under God was still the instrument

to preserve this colony from death, famine, and utter confusion, which if in those times had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our first arrival to this day.

“ Since, then, this business having been turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at, it is most certain, after a long and troublesome war, after my departure, betwixt her father and our colony, all which time she was not heard of, about two years after, she herself was taken prisoner; being so detained near two years longer, the colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded, and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English gentleman, with whom at present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a child in marriage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered and well understood, worthy a prince’s understanding.

“ Thus, most gracious lady, I have related to your majesty, what at your best leisure our approved histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your majesty’s life; and however this might be presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot come from a more honest heart, as yet I never begged any thing of the state or any; and it is my want of ability and her exceeding desert, your birth, means, and authority, her birth, virtue, want, and simplicity doth make me thus bold, humbly to beseech your majesty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter as myself, her husband’s estate not being able to make her fit to attend your majesty. The most and least I can do, is to tell you this, because none hath so oft tried it as myself; and the rather being of so great a spirit, however her stature. If she should not be well received, seeing this kingdom may rightly have a kingdom by her means, her present love to us and Christianity might turn to such scorn and fury, as to divert all this good to the worst of evil; where finding so great a queen should do her some honor more than she can imagine, for being so kind to your servants and subjects, would

so ravish her with content, as endear her dearest blood to effect that, your majesty and all the king's honest subjects most earnestly desire. And so I humbly kiss your gracious hands."

Captain Smith gives us a few details of the residence of Pocahontas in England, and an account of his own interview with her, which the reader will probably prefer to read without any alteration. "Being about this time preparing to set sail for New England," he says, "I could not stay to do her that service I desired and she well deserved; but hearing she was at Branford [Brentford] with divers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humor, her husband with divers others, we all left her two or three hours, repenting myself to have writ she could speak English. But not long after, she began to talk, and remembered me well what courtesies she had done; saying, 'You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I do you;' which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a king's daughter, with a well-set countenance, she said, 'Were you not afraid to come into my father's country, and caused fear in him and all his people but me, and fear you here I should call you father?' I tell you then I will, and you shall call me child, and so I will be for ever and ever your countryman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plymouth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seek you and know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much.'

"This savage, one of Powhatan's council, being amongst them held an understanding fellow, the king purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and inform him well what we were and our state. Arriving at Plymouth, according to his directions, he got a long stick, whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could see, but

he was quickly weary of that task.\* Coming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to hear and see his behavior, he told me Powhatan did bid him to find me out to show him our God, the king, queen, and prince, I so much had told them of. Concerning God, I told him the best I could; the king, I heard he had seen, and the rest he should see when he would. He denied ever to have seen the king, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had. Then he replied very sadly, 'You gave Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as himself, but your king gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog.'

"The small time I staid in London divers courtiers and others, my acquaintances, have gone with me to see her, that generally concluded they did think God had a great hand in her conversion, and they have seen many English ladies worse favored, proportioned, and behaved; and, as since I have heard, it pleased both the king and queen's majesties honorably to esteem her, accompanied with that honorable lady, the Lady Delaware, and that honorable lord, her husband, and divers other persons of good qualities, both publicly at the masks and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtless she would have deserved, had she lived to arrive in Virginia."

Pocahontas, or the Lady Rebecca, as she was now called,† was destined never to leave the country, which had become her own by adoption, nor to gladden again the eyes of her aged father, whose race of life was almost run.‡ Early in the year 1617, as she was preparing to

\*When he returned to Virginia, it is stated, that Powhatan asked him how many people there were in England, and that he replied, "Count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sand upon the sea-shore, such is the number of people in England."—*Stith*, p. 144.

†Perhaps it is not generally known that her true and original name was Matoax or Matoaka, which the Indians carefully concealed from the English under the assumed one of Pocahontas, having a superstitious notion, that, if they knew her real name, they would be able to do her some mischief.—*Stith*, p. 136.

‡He died in the spring of 1618, probably between seventy and eighty years of age.

return to Virginia, she was taken sick at Gravesend and died, being then about twenty-two years old. The firmness and resignation with which she met her death bore testimony to the sincerity of the religious principles, which she had long professed.

It is difficult to speak of the character of Pocahontas, without falling into extravagance. Though our whole knowledge of her is confined to a few brilliant and striking incidents, yet there is in them so complete a consistency, that reason, as well as imagination, permits us to construct the whole character from these occasional manifestations. She seems to have possessed every quality essential to the perfection of the female character; the most graceful modesty, the most winning sensibility, strong affections, tenderness and delicacy of feeling, dovelike gentleness, and most entire disinterestedness. These beautiful qualities were not in her nurtured and trained by the influences of refined life, but were the native and spontaneous growth of her heart and soul.

Her mind had not been formed and fed by books, or the conversation of the gifted and cultivated; the nameless graces of polished life had not surrounded her from her birth and created that tact in manner and deportment, and becoming propriety in carriage and conversation, which all well-bred people, however differing originally in refinement and delicacy of perception, seem to possess in about the same degree; nor had the coarse forms of actual life been, to her eyes, concealed by the elegant drapery which civilization throws over them. From her earliest years she had been familiar with rude ways of living, uncouth habits and lawless passions. Yet she seems to have been, from the first, a being distinct from and unlike her people, though in the midst of them. She reminds one of a delicate wild-flower, growing up in the cleft of a rock, where the eye can discern no soil for its roots to grasp, and sustain its slender stalk. We behold her as she came from the hands of her Maker, who seems to have created her in a spirit of rebuke to the pride of civilization, giving to an Indian girl, reared in the depths of a Virginian forest, that symmetry of

feminine loveliness, which we but seldom see, with all our helps and appliances, and all that moral machinery with which we work upon the raw material of character.

But in our admiration of what is lovely and attractive in the character of Pocahontas, we must not overlook the higher moral qualities, which command respect almost to reverence. Moral courage, dignity and independence are among her most conspicuous traits. Before we can do justice to them, we must take into consideration the circumstances under which they were displayed. At the time when the English first appeared in Virginia, she was a child but twelve or thirteen years old. These formidable strangers immediately awakened in the breast of her people the strongest passions of hatred and fear, and Captain Smith, in particular, was looked upon as a being whose powers of injuring them were irresistible and superhuman. What could have been more natural than that this young girl should have had all these feelings exaggerated by the creative imagination of childhood, that Captain Smith should have haunted her dreams, and that she should not have had the courage to look upon the man to whom her excited fancy had given an outward appearance corresponding to his frightful attributes?

But the very first act of her life, as known to us, puts her far above the notions and prejudices of her people, and stamps at once a seal of marked superiority upon her character. And from this elevation she never descends. Her motives are peculiar to herself, and take no tinge from the passions and opinions around her. She thinks and acts for herself, and does not hesitate, when thereto constrained, to leave her father, and trust for protection to that respect, which was awakened alike by her high birth and high character among the whole Indian race. It is certainly a remarkable combination which we see in her, of gentleness and sweetness, with strength of mind, decision, and firm consistency of purpose, and would be so in any female, reared under the most favorable influences.

The lot of Pocahontas may be considered a happy one,

notwithstanding the pang which her affectionate nature must have felt, in being called so early to part from her husband and child. It was her good fortune to be the instrument, in the hand of Providence, for bringing about a league of peace and amity between her own nation and the English, a consummation most agreeable to her taste and feelings. The many favors, which she bestowed upon the colonists, were by them gratefully acknowledged, and obtained for her a rich harvest of attentions in England. Her name and deeds have not been suffered to pass out of the minds of men, nor are they discerned only by the glimmering light of tradition. Captain Smith seems to have repaid the vast debt of gratitude which he owed her, by the immortality which his eloquent and feeling pen has given her. Who has not heard the beautiful story of her heroism, and who, that has heard it, has not felt his heart throb quick with generous admiration? She has become one of the darlings of history, and her name is as familiar as a household word to the numerous and powerful descendants of the "feeble folk," whom she protected and befriended.

Her own blood flows in the veins of many honorable families, who trace back with pride their descent from this daughter of a despised people. She has been a powerful, though silent advocate in behalf of the race to which she belonged. Her deeds have covered a multitude of their sins. When disgusted with numerous recitals of their cruelty and treachery, and about to pass an unfavorable judgment in our minds upon the Indian character, at the thought of Pocahontas our "rigor relents." With a softened heart we are ready to admit that there must have been fine elements in a people, from among whom such a being could spring.\*

\* The child of Pocahontas was left behind in England and did not accompany his father to Virginia, his tender years rendering a sea-voyage dangerous and inexpedient, without a mother's watchful care. He was left in charge of Sir Lewis Steukley, whose treacherous conduct to Sir Walter Raleigh has given him an infamous notoriety. Young Rolfe was afterwards transferred to the care of his uncle, Henry Rolfe, in London. He came to Virginia afterwards, and was a person of con-

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Captain Smith's Examination by the Commissioners for the Reformation of Virginia.—His Death.—His Character.*

CAPTAIN SMITH, in his account of his interview with Pocahontas in the early part of 1617, speaks of his being on the eve of sailing for New England. This confident expectation was probably founded on a promise of the Plymouth company to send him out, in the spring of that year, with a fleet of twenty ships. But this promise was never kept, and Captain Smith, so far as is known to us, passed the remainder of his life in England. But, though his body was there, his spirit was in America; and he was unwearied in his endeavors to encourage his countrymen to settle in that country.

The 27th day of March, 1622, was rendered memorable by the dreadful massacre of the English settlers at Jamestown, by the Indians under the direction and by the instigation of Opechancanough, who had succeeded to Powhatan's power and influence over his countrymen, and who was compounded of treachery, cruelty, and dissimulation. The design had been for a long time formed and matured with deliberate skill and forethought.

sequence and consideration there. He left an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Robert Bolling, by whom she had an only son, Major John Bolling, who was father to Colonel John Bolling and several daughters. These were married to Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray.

The above is taken from Stith, who adds, "that this remnant of the imperial family of Virginia, which long ran in a single person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous progeny." Her descendants are numerous in Virginia at this day. Among them, as is well known, was the late gifted and eccentric John Randolph of Roanoke, who was not a little proud of the distinction.



The English were entirely unsuspecting and defenceless, and three hundred and forty-seven of them were cruelly slain. The massacre was conducted with unsparing and indiscriminate barbarity. Six of the council were among the victims.

This disastrous event threw the whole colony into mourning and gave to its progress and prosperity a blow, from the effects of which it was long in recovering. The news created a great excitement in England, and Captain Smith, in particular, was deeply affected by this misfortune, which happened to a colony, whose recent flourishing condition he had contemplated with so much pride and satisfaction. He was desirous of going over to Virginia in person, to avenge the outrage. He made proposals to the company, that if they would allow him one hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, with necessary provisions and equipments, he would range the country, and keep the savages under subjection and in check.

Upon this proposal, there was a division of opinion in the council, some being warmly in favor of it, while others were too avaricious and short-sighted to lay out present money for future and contingent good. The only answer which Captain Smith could obtain from them was, that their capital was too much exhausted to undertake so expensive a plan, that they thought it was the duty of the planters themselves to provide for their own defence, and that they would give him permission to go on such an enterprise, provided he would be content with one half of the pillage for his share. This pitiful offer was rejected with the contempt which it deserved. Captain Smith says he would not give twenty pounds for all the pillage, which could be obtained from the savages in twenty years.

The calamities of the colony in Virginia and the dissensions of the company in England having been represented to King James, a commission was issued on the 9th of May, 1623, under the great seal of England, to certain of the Judges and other persons of distinction, seven in number, giving authority to them, or any four of them, to examine the transactions of the company

from its first establishment, report to the Privy Council all grievances and abuses, and suggest any plan by which they might be remedied, and the affairs of the colony be well managed in future. Several questions were propounded by these commissioners to Captain Smith, which, together with his answers, he has himself preserved. These answers are marked by his usual good sense, sagacity, and perfect knowledge of the subject. He ascribes the misfortunes of the colony to the rapid succession of governors, to the numerous and costly offices with which they were burdened, and to the fact that their affairs in England were managed by an association far too numerous to be efficient, the majority of whom were bent upon nothing but their own gain.

As is well known, King James, in 1624, dissolved the Virginia company, arrogated to himself their powers, and issued a special commission, appointing a governor and twelve counsellors, to whom the whole government of the colony was intrusted; and making no provision for a house of representatives. His death taking place soon after, King Charles, immediately upon his accession to the throne, published a proclamation, in which he signified his entire assent to the changes introduced into the administration of the colony by his father, and his determination to make its government depend entirely upon himself. He declared, that the whole administration should be vested in a council, nominated and directed by himself, and responsible to him alone.

The death of Captain Smith occurred in 1631, at London, in the fifty-second year of his age. We know nothing of the circumstances which attended it, and we are equally ignorant of his domestic and personal history, with whom he was related and connected, where he resided, what was the amount of his fortune, what were his habits, tastes, personal appearance, manners, and conversation, and, in general, of those personal details which modest men commonly do not record about themselves.

From the fact that he expended so much money in behalf of the great objects of his life, and particularly in

the publication and distribution of his pamphlets, we may infer that he was independent in his circumstances, if not wealthy. For his labors and sacrifices he never received any pecuniary recompense. In a statement addressed to his majesty's commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, and written probably about 1624, he says, that he has spent five years and more than five hundred pounds, in the service of Virginia and New England; yet, he adds, "in neither of those two countries, have I one foot of land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor ever any content or satisfaction at all, and though I see ordinarily those two countries shared before me by them that neither have them, nor know them but by my descriptions."

A very superficial acquaintance with the events of Captain Smith's life will be sufficient to convince any one that he was a man cast in an uncommon mould, and formed alike for the planning and conducting of great enterprises. He had that happy combination of qualities, which gave symmetry to his character, and enabled him to assume the most important duties and responsibilities. His constitutional courage was tempered with coolness and self-command. The warmth and enthusiasm of his temperament never perverted the soundness of his judgment. His zeal was not a transient flame, quenched by the first experience of difficulty and danger, but a deep-seated, indestructible principle, which gained strength from opposition and vigor from defeat.

The perseverance with which he prosecuted his enterprises equalled the ardor with which he undertook them. His energy was so great and overflowing, that he could not be confined to any one sphere of duty. We see him at the same time performing the offices of a provident governor, a valiant soldier, and an industrious laborer, capable alike of commanding and executing. He dreaded nothing so much as repose, inactivity, and ease. He seemed to court the dangers, toils, and sufferings, which other men shrink from, or encounter only from a sense of duty. His resources increase in proportion to the extent of the demand made upon them. As the

storm darkens around him, his spirit grows more bright and serene, and that, which appals and disheartens others, only animates him. It was his good fortune to have a vigorous mind seconded by an equally vigorous body. He had a "soul of fire" enclosed in a "frame of adamant," and was thus enabled to endure and accomplish whatever his adventurous spirit impelled him to.

If we were called upon to say what was his ruling and characteristic trait, we should reply, enthusiasm, using that word in its highest and best sense, as the quality which leads a man to devote himself to some great and good object with courage, constancy, and self-abandonment, and to exert in its advancement and behalf all the energies of his nature, undaunted by natural obstacles, unruffled by opposition, and uninfluenced by the insinuations of the malicious, the open violence of enemies, and the lukewarmness of selfish friends. For the first thirty years of his life, we see him without any predominant object of interest or pursuit, obeying the impulses of a fiery valor and a restless spirit of enterprise, "seeking the bubble reputation" in desperate skirmishes in an obscure corner of Europe, eagerly embracing every opportunity of exposing himself to danger and of winning glory, prodigal of life and covetous of honor. Yet, in all the scenes of his chequered career he is animated by those high and romantic motives, which must extort admiration from even those, who look upon war as a crime and military renown as a worthless bauble. There is nothing selfish or mercenary in his conduct; he does not belong to the Dugald Dalgetty school of heartless and ruffianly adventurers, making a trade of blood and anxious only for pay and "provant." He was a generous and highminded soldier, who fought for the battle and not for the spoils, and who gave to the cause he espoused, not only his sword, but his entire soul and heart.

But, fortunately for himself and for the world, in his early manhood he was induced to devote himself to the settlement of America, an object attractive enough to keep his imagination perpetually kindled, and vast enough to task all his powers, the prosecution of which unfolded

in him high qualities of mind and character, that the iron routine of the camp could never have called forth, and which secured him a peaceful glory, far more durable and valuable than the laurels of a hundred victories. Henceforward this great interest absorbed and monopolized him. It supplied the place of friends, kindred, and domestic ties. He embraced it and labored for it with a disinterestedness and a sense of duty, worthy both of himself and of the cause. He never made it the means of securing pecuniary gain or worldly advancement, being content to point out to others the way to wealth, while he remained poor himself. He never coveted official dignity; and, when he obtained it, he made it no excuse for indolence or self-indulgence, and did not regard it as of so delicate a texture as to render a dignified and lofty seclusion necessary to preserve it unimpaired. He was never actuated by the motives or spirit of a hireling.

We have seen him in Virginia struggling against a host of difficulties, contending, not only with those natural obstacles which he might reasonably have expected, but with mutiny, treachery, and disaffection in the colony and base injustice and persecution at home; yet never abandoning his post in disgust and despair, but, for the sake of the settlement, doing every thing and suffering every thing. And what was his conduct on his return? He showed no peevish resentment and betrayed none of the irritation of disappointment. He never magnified his own wrongs nor the ill treatment of the company. He did not write pamphlets to beg of the public the consolation of their sympathy, and to pour into the general ear the tale of his great merits and great neglect. His conduct was magnanimous, dignified, and noble. Strong in the confidence of innocence, he made no appeal and attempted no justification. He continued, as before, the active and zealous friend of the colony at Jamestown, and of all similar projects.

He frequently volunteered his own personal services, and twice sailed to the coast of New England. By the writing and distribution of pamphlets, and by personal

exertions, he diffused information among all classes upon the subject of America; enforcing eloquently its advantages as a place either for trade or for permanent settlement, and appealing, in its behalf, to avarice, ambition, enterprise, and that noble spirit of benevolent self-sacrifice, which dwelt in bosoms kindred to his own. Never was a scheme for obtaining wealth or personal aggrandizement pursued by any individual with more fervor and singleness of purpose, and never was one crowned with more splendid success, though he himself "died before the sight."

Captain Smith must have been something more than mortal, had he possessed so many brilliant and substantial good qualities without any tincture of alloy. The frankness of his character reveals to us his faults no less than his virtues. He was evidently a man of an impatient and irritable temperament, expecting to find, in every department of life, the prompt and unhesitating character of military obedience. He had keen sensibility and lively feelings, and was apt to regard as studied neglect or intentional hostility, what was in fact only lukewarm indifference. His conviction of the importance of discipline and subordination made him sometimes imperious and tyrannical. The energy and decision of his character led him sometimes to adopt questionable means to secure a desired result. His high spirit and independence made him perhaps unnecessarily rough and haughty in his communications to his superiors in station and authority.

Nothing is more difficult, than, in our intercourse with those above us in rank, influence, or consideration, to hit that exact medium of deportment, which is demanded alike by self-respect and by respect to others, and which is equally removed from slavish fawning and from the unbending stiffness generated by undue notions of self-importance. We have Captain Smith's own authority that he had a great many enemies. These were undoubtedly made by his haughty bearing, his uncompromising freedom of speech, the warmth of his temper, and the impatience of his blood. His resentments were

lively, his antipathies strong, and prudence had never dictated to him to refrain from the expression of them.

There is one circumstance which may serve to palliate some of these weaknesses in Captain Smith. His birth was nothing more than respectable in an age when the greatest importance was attached to nobility. It is easy to perceive that this peculiarity in his fortunes may have produced in him a soreness of feeling and jealousy of temper; may have made him suspicious and fearful, lest he should not receive from others the respect and consideration, which he knew were due to his personal merit. This inequality between one's lot and one's merits and wishes is a severe trial of character, and, in men of high spirit, is apt to beget a morbid sensitiveness and pride, a surly independence of manner, and a painful uneasiness lest their dignity should be ruffled by too familiar contact. To this source is undoubtedly to be ascribed much of that tartness of expression which we find frequently in his writings, and of that haughtiness which we have every reason to suppose was characteristic of his deportment.

Those who have read this biography will, I think, be ready to allow, that the debt of gratitude which we of this country owe to Captain Smith can hardly be exaggerated. With the exception of Sir Walter Raleigh (and perhaps Richard Hakluyt) no one did so much towards colonizing and settling the coast of North America. The state of Virginia is under peculiar obligations to him as its virtual founder; since, without his remarkable personal qualities and indefatigable exertions, the colony at Jamestown could never have taken root. In reading the history of his administration, we are made to feel in regard to him, as we do in regard to Washington, when we contemplate the events of the American Revolution; that he was a being specially appointed by divine Providence to accomplish the work intrusted to him. He was exactly fitted for the place which he filled, and not one of his many remarkable gifts could have been spared without serious detriment.

His claims upon the gratitude of the people of New

England are hardly inferior. He was the first to perceive the advantages held out by it as a place of settlement, in spite of its bitter skies and iron-bound coast, and to correct the erroneous, unfavorable impressions prevalent concerning it. Though he himself had no direct share in the settlement of Plymouth, yet without doubt it was owing to the interest which had been awakened by his writings and personal exertions, that the ranks of the colonists were so soon swelled by those accessions of men of character and substance, which gave them encouragement and insured them prosperity and success. It was the peculiar good fortune of Captain Smith to stand in so interesting a relation to the two oldest states in the union, and through them to the northern and southern sections of the country. The debt of gratitude due to him is national and American, and so should his glory be. Wherever upon this continent the English language is spoken, his deeds should be recounted, and his memory hallowed. His services should not only be not forgotten, but should be "freshly remembered." His name should not only be honored by the silent canvass, and the cold marble, but his praises should dwell living upon the lips of men, and should be handed down by fathers to their children. Poetry has imagined nothing more stirring and romantic than his life and adventures, and History, upon her ample page, has recorded few more honorable and spotless names.



## NOTE.

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### *Account of Captain Smith's Writings.*

It is a proof of the versatility of Captain Smith's powers, that, after having passed so many years in stirring and eventful action, he was able to sit quietly down in the autumn of life, and compose book after book, as if he had never gone beyond the walls of his study. It is fortunate, both for us and for his own fame, that he was able to handle the pen as well as the sword, to describe what he had observed and experienced, and to be at once the champion and the herald.

He published, in 1612, "A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government, and Religion. Written by Captaine Smith, sometimes Gouverneur of the Countrey. Whereunto is annexed the Proceedings of those Colonies since their first Departure from England, with the Discourses, Orations, and Relations of the Salvages, and the Accidents that befell them in all their Journies and Discoveries, &c. by W. S. [William Simons.] Quarto. Oxford." The "Proceedings," &c. is separately printed with a distinct title and paging, and an Address signed "V. Abbay." The above title is copied from Mr. Rich's catalogue. There is a copy of the same work in Colonel Aspinwall's collection.

In 1620, he published a pamphlet, entitled, "*New England's Trials*, declaring the Successe of 26 Ships employed thither within these Six Yeares." A second edition of the same work was published in 1622, with this title; "*New England's Trials*, declaring the Success of 80 Ships employed thither within these Eight Years." An extract from this work is contained in Purchas, (Vol. IV. p. 1837.) There is no copy, so far as I am aware, of either of these editions in America.

In 1626, he published the following work; "*The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*, with the Names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours, from their first Beginning, An. 1584, to this present 1626. With the Proceedings of those Severall Colonies, and the Accidents that befell them in all their Journyes and Discoveries. Also the Maps and Descriptions of all those Countreyes, their Commodities, People, Government, Customes, and Religion, yet knowne. Divided into Six Bookes. By Captaine John Smith, sometymes Governour in those Countreies and Admirall of New England." There are copies of this work with the dates 1627 and 1632,

but Mr. Rich states, they are apparently the same edition with merely an alteration in the title-page. A great part of it had been printed in 1625, by Purchas in his "*Pilgrims*."\* It is a compilation made up of the previously written tracts of Captain Smith and a great number of journals, letters, and narratives by his friends and companions. It comprises the whole of the "*Description of New England*," the greater part, if not the whole of "*New England's Trials*," and probably the whole of the work on Virginia, printed at Oxford, in 1612. The portions of it written by Captain Smith are thus subscribed; "John Smith writ this with his owne hand." The whole of the second and sixth books are written by him, but to the other four books he stands only in the relation of editor, intermixing occasionally his own observations and reflections with the narratives which he collected and arranged. The third book, which contains the history of the colony at Jamestown during Captain Smith's residence there, and from which I have so frequently quoted, is stated to be "extracted from the authors following, by William Simons, Doctour of Divinitie." It is a little curious, that the narratives in this compilation of Simons's are none of them written by one individual. For instance, a chapter, detailing the events which took place in Captain Smith's first expedition to survey the Chesapeake, is said to be written by Walter Russell, Anas Todkill, and Thomas Momford; and the next one in order, giving an account of the second expedition for the same purpose, is subscribed by Antony Bagnall, Nathaniel Powell, and Anas Todkill. This accounts for the fact, that in quoting from this book, I have not mentioned the name of any author. The work is dedicated to the Duchess of Richmond.

There are a great many copies of commendatory verses, some prefixed to the first, and some subjoined to the third and fifth books of this History, which were written mostly by his personal friends. Some of these are very curious, (particularly one by Purchas, which is stuffed full of learning and extravagant conceits,) though not very smooth or poetical. In subjoining those to the third book, Captain Smith says, "Now seeing there is much paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with prose, such verses as my worthy friends bestowed upon New England, I here present you, because with honesty I can neither reject nor omit their courtesies." His own prose will be found more poetical than his friends' poetry.

This "General History" is reprinted in the thirteenth volume of Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages. A perfect copy should contain an engraved title-page, with the portraits of Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First; four maps, one of Virginia, one of Old Virginia, (part of North Carolina,) with five plates in the compartments, representing Captain Smith's adventures among the Indians; (these two are reprinted in the Richmond edition;) a map of the Somers' Islands with a view of the forts; and map of New England with a portrait of Captain Smith in one corner; also a portrait of the Duchess of Richmond and another

\* I find in Colonel Aspinwall's CATALOGUE the following work; "Smith's History of Virginia, fo. cf. gt. front. maps and plts. large paper. Lord Rich's copy. London. 1624." If this date be correct it would seem that the "General History" was published two years earlier than has been generally supposed.

of Pocahontas. Mr. Rich says, "The original portraits of Mataoka (Pocahontas) and the Duchess of Richmond are rarely found in the book, but are sometimes supplied by well executed modern fac-similes." There are two copies of this work in the Library of Harvard University, one with the date 1626 and the other 1632, neither of which is perfect.

In 1630, he published "*The true Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith, in Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from 1593 to 1629.*" Together with a Continuation of his Generall History of Virginia, Summer Isles, New England, and their Proceedings, since 1624 to this present 1629: as also of the new Plantations of the great River of the Amazons, the Isles of St. Christopher, Mevis, and Barbadoes in the West Indies." In his Dedication, to the Earl of Pembroke, he observes, that he has been induced to publish an account of his early adventures by the request of Sir Robert Cotton, "that most learned treasurer of antiquity," and that he was the more willing to comply with it, because they had become so notorious as to be publicly acted upon the stage. "To prevent therefore all future misprisions," he says, "I have compiled this true discourse." It is contained in the second volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels.

This work, together with the "General History of Virginia," was reprinted, in 1819, at Richmond, Virginia, in two octavo volumes, and in a manner very creditable to the printer and publisher. The value of this edition would, however, have been much enhanced, if there had been something in the way of preface, explanation, and description, giving an account of the original editions, &c. As it is, the reader is left without guide or assistance, thrown, as it were, upon a sea of heterogeneous materials without chart or compass. There are no notes, no prefatory remarks, nothing to supply breaks and chasms, nothing but the original works themselves, reprinted word for word. But notwithstanding this, we owe much to the publishers, who have thus given to the public, in a cheap and accessible form, works interesting to every American, and indispensable to one who desires to be well acquainted with our early history, which in their original editions are very expensive and difficult to be obtained.

The last thirty or forty pages of the "General History" contained in this edition, are devoted to an account of the settlement at Plymouth; and in the "Continuation" (which is prefixed to his *Travels, Adventures, &c.*, but forms the concluding portion of the Richmond edition) he gives a very brief sketch of their proceedings from 1624 to 1629. In this he says that New England had always been represented as a rocky, barren country, till his account of it was published, which had raised its credit so high that forty or fifty sail had gone there every year to trade and fish; but that nothing had been done to establish a settlement "till about some hundred of your Brownists, of England, Amsterdam, and Leyden went to New Plymouth, whose humorous ignorances caused them, for more than a year, to endure a wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience."

Captain Smith, a man of the world and a soldier, loyal in his feelings and probably a member of the Church of England, could not appreci-

ate the motives which led to the settlement at Plymouth. The high religious enthusiasm, made morbid in some instances by persecution, could not appear to him as any thing else than wild fanaticism. But, though not capable of sympathizing with them, he regarded their settlement with lively interest, as is proved by the narrative of their proceedings for the first four years contained in his "General History," and the remarks he makes upon it. He is sanguine in his anticipations of their complete and final success, and says, that if there were not an Englishman left in America, he would begin the colonizing of the country again, notwithstanding all he had lost and suffered.

In 1631, there appeared from his pen the following work. "*Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England, or any where. Or, the Pathway to Experience to erect a Plantation.* With the yearly Proceedings of this Country in Fishing and Planting, since the Yeare 1614 to the Yeare 1630, and their present Estate. Also how to prevent the greatest Inconveniences, by their Proceedings in Virginia and other Plantations, by approved Examples. With the Countries Armes, a Description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Land-markes, Latitude and Longitude; with the Map, allowed by our Royall King Charles. By Captaine JOHN SMITH, sometimes Governor of Virginia and Admirall of New England." I have quoted the title at length, since, like most of the titles of those days, it gives a tolerable abstract of the book itself.

This is a curious work, and in literary merit the most finished of his productions. It is rambling and desultory in its character, combining narrative, disquisition, advice, and apology without order or method. Here we have a paragraph in praise of a ship, another in reproof of religious dissensions;—here an account of the discoveries of former navigators, and, near to it, a sketch of the qualities requisite to form a good governor of a plantation. Many paragraphs are borrowed, some with a little alteration, others with none, from his former writings. He takes great pains to justify his own conduct and policy, when he was in Virginia, points out the errors and mistakes of those who had succeeded him, and alludes to the injudicious conduct of the council in England, and to the annoyance which they occasioned him while he was President.

He speaks occasionally in a disparaging and taunting manner of the "Brownists" of Plymouth, "the factious humorists" as he calls them. The pertinacity inspired by religious enthusiasm was offensive to his notions of military discipline, and irritated him not a little. And yet his sense of justice prompts him to do honor to the firmness and constancy, with which they endured their trials and sufferings. He speaks of Governor Winthrop in terms of the highest admiration and respect. He alludes to his "General History" occasionally, in which, he says, one may read of many "strange actions and accidents, that to an ordinary capacity might rather seem miracles than wonders possibly to be effected; which though they are but wound up as bottoms of fine silk, which with a good needle might be flourished into a far larger work, yet the images of great things are best discerned, contracted into smaller glasses."

A further and more extended notice of this work would be superfluous.

ous, as it has lately been reprinted by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in their *COLLECTIONS*, (Third Series, Vol. III.,) and thus rendered accessible to all who feel an interest in the subject. There is a copy of the original edition of this work, in the Library of Harvard University.

It has been generally supposed that the literary labors of Captain Smith were confined to subjects connected either with his own personal adventures, or with America and the settlements established there; but such is not the fact. In 1626, he published '*An Accidence, or the Pathway to Experience, necessary for all young Seamen*;' and, in 1627, '*A Sea Grammar, with the plaine Exposition of Smith's Accidence for young Seamen, enlarged*.' Of this latter work, a second edition was published in 1653, and a third, with additions, in 1692. He alludes to this work, once or twice in his other writings. In his '*Advertisements*,' &c., he says, "Of all fabrics a ship is the most excellent, requiring more art in building, rigging, sailing, trimming, defending, and mooring, with such a number of several terms and names in continual not understood of any landman, as none would think of, but some few that know them, for whose better instruction I writ my *Sea Grammar*." In the Dedication of his '*Travels, Adventures, and Observations*' to the Earl of Pembroke, he says, "My *Sea Grammar* (caused to be printed by my worthy friend Sir Samuel Saltonstall) hath found such good entertainment abroad, that I have been importuned by many noble persons to let this also pass the press."

For the account of the two works last mentioned, I am indebted to Lowndes's '*Bibliographer's Manual*.' From a sentence in the '*Advertisements*,' &c., (published in 1631, the year of his death,) it seems that Captain Smith was then engaged upon a work, which he calls the '*History of the Sea*,' and which, as it was never published, was probably left unfinished at his death. There are two works ascribed to Captain Smith, in Watt's '*Bibliotheca Britannica*,' (the two last in the list,) which were not written by him.

The extracts, which have been made from the writings of Captain Smith, will enable the reader to form a tolerably correct opinion of his merit as a writer. It will be seen, that he writes like a man of sense, observation, and talent, whose acquisitions are by no means contemptible, but who has been trained to the use of the sword and not of the pen. There is a rough vigor and energy in his style characteristic of the man, but it wants the clearness and polish of a practised writer. He betrays in it the irritability of his temperament, and he uses no silken phrases to express his displeasure and disgust. His own unbounded activity made him have no patience with sloth, imbecility, and procrastination. He could not see things going wrong, and be silent. But it is impossible to read any of his works without perceiving that he was largely endowed by nature, a man of lively sensibilities and of easily excited blood, with many of the elements which go to form the poetical character. His writings abound with picturesque and eloquent passages, and with expressions full of a native grace which Quintilian himself could never have taught.

He was alive to the beautiful and grand in the outward world, as his animated descriptions testify; and, above all, his style is characterized

by fervor, earnestness, and enthusiasm. His heart is in every thing which he writes. His mind is warmed and kindled by the contemplation of his subject, and it is impossible to read any of his works (after being accustomed to his antiquated diction) without ourselves catching a portion of their glow. If he has not the smoothness, he has not the monotony of a professed man of letters. His style has the charm of individuality. It has a picture-like vividness arising from the circumstance that he describes, not what he has heard, but what he has seen and experienced.

Reading his tracts, as we do now, with the commentary which the lapse of two centuries has given them, we cannot but wonder at the extent of his knowledge, the accuracy of his observation, and the confidence, amounting almost to inspiration, with which he makes predictions, which, it is needless to say, have been most amply fulfilled. Had he done nothing but write his books, we should have been under the highest obligations to him; and the most impartial judgement would have assigned to him an honorable station among the authors of his age.

## A GLOSSARY

OF THE LATIN, FRENCH, AND OTHER NOT-EASILY-UNDERSTOOD WORDS AND PHRASES.

*Aide-de-camp*, a military officer, acting as aid or assistant to the commanding general.

*Anglo-American*, English-American, relating to Englishmen residing in America.

*Bateau*, (plural *Bateaux*,) the French name for boat; particularly applied to large, light, flat-bottomed boats, much used in Canada, and on the upper lakes.

*Beau-idéal*, perfection, superior excellence.

*Bureaux*, (plural *Bureaux*,) the French term for their government offices; sometimes applied to the public offices in other countries.

*Cincinnati*, a name derived from the Roman general Cincinnatus, and adopted by a society established at the close of the Revolutionary War, by the Officers of the disbanded Army, for the purpose of friendly intercourse, keeping up old associations, and aiding each other when in need.

*Continental Congress*, the name by which the Congress of the United Colonies was designated under the old Confederation, and previously to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

*Provincial Congress*, a convention of Delegates of a particular State.

*Council-of-war*, a council held by the officers of an army, when the commander wishes the counsel and advice of his subordinates.

*Coup de main*, (French term,) a military expression, denoting an instantaneous, sudden, and unexpected attack upon an enemy.

*Covenanters*, a term formerly applied, to the adherents of the 'Solemn League and Covenant,' signed in 1643, between the English and Scottish presbyterians.

*Culverin* and *demi-culverin*, a species of ordnance, carrying a ball 9lbs., 10lbs. 11oz., or 12lbs. 11oz., in weight.

*En masse*, in a body, in the mass, altogether.

*Half-breed*, among the Indians, an individual, whose parents were, one an Indian and the other a white person.

*Hauteur*, pride, insolence, haughtiness.

*Heathenism*, lands occupied by heathens, in contradistinction to Christendom.

*Long house*, among the Indians, a lodge or wigwam larger than the rest, where their mysteries were performed.

*Loyalists*, *Royalists*, *Refugees*, and *Tories*. In the times of the Revolution, these terms were used as technical or party names, and were sometimes applied indiscriminately. Strictly speaking, however, *Loyalists*, were those whose feelings or opinions were in favor of the mother country, but who declined taking part in the Revolu-

tion ; *Royalists*, were those who preferred, or favored, a kingly government ; *Refugees*, were those who fled from the country and sought the protection of the British ; and *Tories*, were those, who actually opposed the war, and took part with the enemy, aiding them by all the means in their power.

*Medicine*, among the Indians, means any thing mysterious.

*Nolens volens*, "unwilling or willing."

*Okee*, an Indian idol.

*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*, "every thing unknown is taken for magnificent."

*Pirogue*, an Indian boat, made of two trees, hollowed out and joined together.

*Powows*, Indian sorcerers or magicians, pretending to work by incantations.

*Provant*, provender.

*Provincial Congress*, see *Continental Congress*.

*Rangers*, a corps of soldiers, acting independently of the line of the army, and selected for their prudence, sagacity, and alertness, and their skill in ranging about the country wherever their services were needed. "They were employed in many perilous duties ; reconnoitering the positions of the enemy, serving in the capacity of guides, surprising detached parties, and obtaining prisoners, in order to gain intelligence by force or stratagem." "They rendered most valuable aid as scouting parties, to watch the movements of the enemy, in times of difficulty and danger, when such services were hazardous in the extreme."

*Reconnaissance*, examination, recognisance ; an examination or reconnoitering of the situation and condition of an enemy's encampment.

*Refugees*, see *Loyalists*.

*Rent*, in Ireland, this term is used to mean a tax imposed upon individuals for particular purposes.

*Royalists*, see *Loyalists*.

*Savant*, (plural *Savans*,) a learned man, a scholar.

*Scouting parties*, parties sent out from an army to observe the motions of the enemy.

*Snow shoes*, a large and light contrivance fitted to the feet, and covering a large surface, to enable a person to walk over snow without sinking in.

*Squaw*, an Indian woman.

*Tomahawked*, struck with a tomahawk, an Indian weapon shaped something like a hatchet.

*Tories*, see *Loyalists*.

*Ubi lapsus, quid feci* ? "How am I fallen ! What have I done ?"

*Vincere est vivere*, "to conquer is to live."



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